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ABSTRACT

One of a series of papers on comparative education, this report considers curriculum and student life under colonialism through an examination of school knowledge in French West Africa in the first decades of the twentieth century. The monograph is divided into three parts. Part one describes the educational system of interwar West Africa. It emphasizes school organization, admissions and matriculation policies, the composition of the teaching staff, curriculum, and student enrollment. Part two contains translations from interwar elementary and primary textbooks. Part three is composed of translations from students' class notebooks. Focus is on students' French compositions and, in some cases, teacher corrections. What the notebooks reveal about how students perceive themselves, their school, and their aspirations for themselves once they graduate is evaluated. (LP)

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"When I become a *Fonctionnaire*": School Knowledge in French Colonial Africa

Gail P. Kelly

occasional papers series

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION CENTER

FACULTY OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO

'When I Become a Fonctionnaire:' School Knowledge in French West Africa, 1918-1938

Gail P. Kelly

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Comparative Education Center
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Foreward

This 11th in the Occasional Papers series of the Comparative Education Center focuses on an important but almost completely neglected topic; the reality of the curriculum and of student life under colonialism. Professor Gail Kelly has done painstaking archival and translation work and has presented in this essay a remarkable set of original text and student materials. She has made a major contribution to the literature on education under colonialism, so that we now understand something of what actually was taught in the schools of French colonial Africa. It is on the basis of this sort of work that we will be able to more adequately understand schooling and to go beyond the official policy statements to the reality of the classroom. The "black box" of classroom practice has been revealed in the fascinating materials presented in this monograph. Professor Kelly has also provided us with an introductory essay that provides some original statistics and information concerning the educational system in colonial French Africa. This Occasional Paper is not only a contribution to our understanding of colonial education, but also shows us how historical research can contribute to our knowledge of the reality of schooling.

This monograph is part of an ongoing research project concerning French colonial education in West Africa and in Vietnam. Professor Gail Kelly has done extensive archival work in France and is currently developing a more elaborate comparative analysis of this topic.

Philip G. Altbach
Director
Comparative Education Center

Introduction*

The final word has yet to be written about colonial schools. While much has been said about the colonizer's intent, policy and, to a lesser extent, school provision, precious little is known about what went on in school. The literature on colonial schools has treated the classroom as the proverbial "black box." We know almost nothing about what was taught day by day, how teachers paced instruction, what they corrected or failed to correct, what students learned and what they made of what they were taught. This monograph focuses on school knowledge in French West Africa in the first decades of the 20th Century. It makes no pretense about providing a definitive analysis of what schools taught and what students learned. The intent here is to provide a series of primary source materials relating to classroom practices that will further such analyses.

This monograph is divided into three parts. Part One describes the educational system of interwar West Africa. It focuses on school organization, admissions and matriculation policies, the composition of the teaching staff, curriculum and student enrollment. Part Two contains translations from interwar elementary and primary textbooks. Part Three is composed of translations from students' class notebooks. It focuses on their French compositions and provides, in some cases, teacher corrections. Some of the notebooks reveal much about how students perceived themselves, their school and their aspirations for themselves once they graduated from school.

The materials that are included in this monograph represent but a small part of existing materials relating to classroom practices in French West Africa available in French libraries and archives. I have included here only those materials that relate to school knowledge: in particular, texts and students' classroom work. It is hoped that these materials will provide insight into the day to day routine of going to school in French West Africa.

*I would like to thank Philip Altbach and David Kelly for their extremely constructive criticism on earlier drafts. I am grateful to Shun Ikeda and Cherif Sadki for their assistance in translating some of the materials in Parts Two and Three of the monograph.

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PART ONE

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA

PART ONE

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA

The school system in interwar French West Africa was shaped in large part by Georges Hardy, the energetic inspector of education brought to Dakar in 1912. Before Hardy's arrival, no school system worthy of that name existed in French West Africa. Rather, a series of schools with almost no relation to one another were scattered throughout the colonial federation that included contemporary Mali, Mauritania, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Guinée, Upper Volta and Sénégal.[1] In the parts of Sénégal which had been colonized since the 18th Century and made part of metropolitan France in the French revolution--namely Dakar, Rufisque, St. Louis and Gorée--a series of French schools had been established. Up to 1903 and the secularization laws, they were missionary-run and offered somewhat questionable versions of metropolitan schooling. These schools served a population of French citizens: whites, mulattos, naturalized Africans and originaires.* By 1902 these schools served about 632 students of whom 96 were Muslim and 342 were of African parentage.[2] The remainder were mulatto or European whites. Schooling, even in the four communes, was confined to the primary level. The government liberally provided scholarships to French officials' children to attend lycées and collèges in the metropole.

There was in 1903 very little education provided to Africans both within and outside of the four communes of Sénégal. So small were the numbers of Africans served that even as late as 1916 the name of each student sitting for certificate or school entry examinations could be listed in large print in the government's pedagogical journal in the space of two to three pages. The government sponsored a series of schools for the sons of chiefs (often called schools for hostages). These schools tried to teach sons who would inherit their fathers' positions in African society, the French language, loyalty to France, and rudiments of French administrative practices. Their programs were of varying duration. By 1902, the year before these schools were phased out, there were 59 students attending them.[3]

Before 1903 educational efforts outside of Sénégal were scattered and there was no regularly organized Education Service. In the Soudan (contemporary Mali) by 1900 there were 30 schools staffed by five Frenchmen. They taught French, farming and sometimes trades to about 730 students.[4] In Guinée, Dahomey and the Ivory Coast, a series of missionary schools, some of which taught in Portuguese and English, constituted all there was of European-style education. Education controlled by the French colonial government was yet to be created. In most of French West Africa by the turn of the 20th century, the vast majority of children were outside of French colonial schools and, while an educational system was built by Georges Hardy and his successors in the following years, this was to remain the case despite their efforts.

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*The term refers to the descendants of Africans who lived in Dakar, Rufisque, St. Louis and Gorée at the time they were made part of metropolitan France.

Not until the turn of the 20th Century was there such an entity as French West Africa, or a single administrative structure for education for the newly conquered areas. Rather, there was the Government General of Sénégal, a series of military territories in which various African peoples warred on unsuccessfully against the French, and some colonies that emerged down the coast. By 1900 the region was reorganized and a Government General established in Dakar to coordinate and oversee civilian administration in all the French colonial territories of West Africa. Each of these territories, called colonies, had their own Lieutenant Governors who reported to the Governor General in Dakar. While matters of education were left in the hands of each Lieutenant Governor, an Educational Advisory Council, aided by an Inspectorate, was established in Dakar to superintend the overall direction of education in West Africa and take control over a series of federal schools that emerged in Sénégal, mostly in Dakar and Gorée. These included the teacher training school, Ecole William Ponty, the Medical and Midwivery training school in Dakar, and two technical and vocational institutions: Ecole Pinet Laprade and the Ecole des Pupilles Mecaniciens indigènes de la Marine. These institutions bore the name "school" in part because their articulation with any school system was unclear as was their educational level. The Ecole William Ponty, for example, initially recruited its students from among those who had some primary education.[5] Not until the mid 1920s could the Ecole William Ponty be considered a post-primary institution whose students had completed primary education prior to entry. After the mid 1920s Ponty students were required to have attended primary superior school as well. The Medical School, like William Ponty, did not require more than primary education for admission until the 1920s when preparatory studies at Ponty became prerequisite.

It was never the intent of French colonial politicans or pedagogues to create a metropolitan school system in West Africa for a variety of reasons. Many Frenchmen believed metropolitan education was beyond the grasp of Blacks; others saw it irrelevant to either the colonial government or to Africans and feared that metropolitan education might disrupt indigenous society and cause no end of grief. Finally, ideology aside, most admitted the impossibility of financing and/or staffing such a system. Education, as far as Hardy and his colleagues were concerned, was to be adapted to the African context.[6] Its goal was to be useful and usefulness did not consist of vocationalism or necessarily the diffusion of new techniques of cultivation as the British were to define the school's mission in the Phelps-Stokes Commission Reports of the 1920s. In French West Africa, education's purpose was to teach local African elites--chiefs and notables--how to communicate with the French Administration. The utility of schooling was to teach those who were by heredity to rule Africans to speak French so that French men could in turn rule them.[7]

School Structures: Primary Education

The school system that emerged during the interwar years was elitist only in the sense that it was geared to reach an indigenous elite. The school reforms of 1903 and the final codifications of the system in the 1920s provided for what was in essence a system of primary education (see Figure 1).[8]

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN AOF

c. 1930

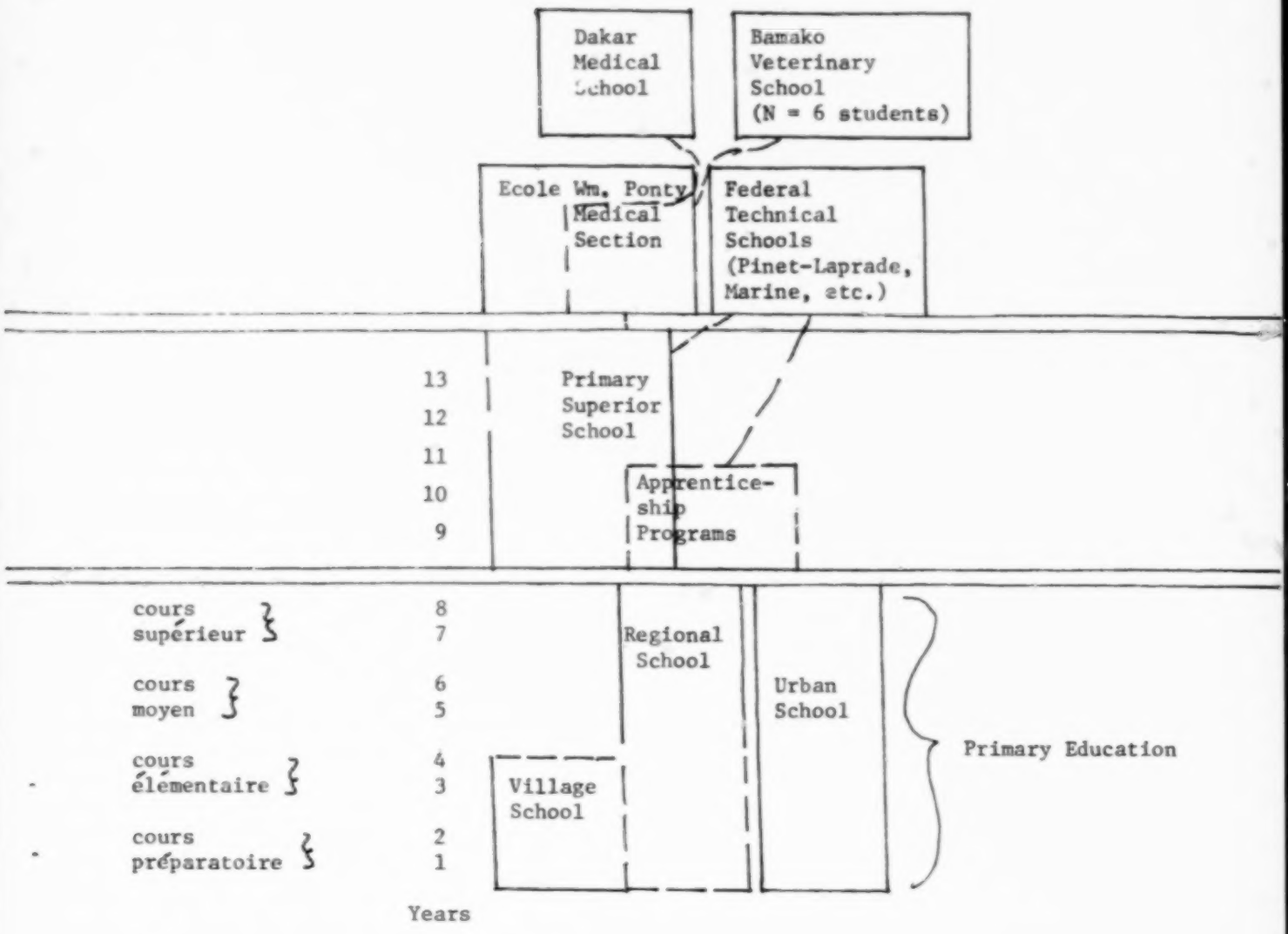

Figure 1

At the base of the system was the village school which housed the equivalent of the French cours préparatoire, or first grade. Sometimes these schools offered the cours élémentaire as well. In practice the village school program was a two to six-year course of study. Students were allowed to enter the cours préparatoire at age 7 and remain until age 11 or they could understand spoken French, which ever came first. Some village schools offered the two-year cours élémentaire which students were required to complete before age 13.

Until the late 1920s the cours élémentaire was offered, in the main, in elementary schools situated in regional centers. The cours élémentaire was considered an elite course of study, for in it students learned to read and write in earnest. The cours moyen and cours supérieur were to be exclusively taught in yet a different school, the regional school, located in administrative centers, in theory, one per cercle. Such a plan proved to be extremely confusing to educators, and difficult to put into practice. Some village school teachers proceeded to convert their schools into full primary schools that characterized the French educational system. School inspectors like Assomption fired off many an angry memo to village school directors (a euphemism for the single teacher in service) to stop what seemed a wholesale subversion of educational policy.[9] Not until the late 1920s was it stated for once and for all that primary education in West Africa was to consist of the village school, teaching the cours préparatoire and the regional school that offered the cours élémentaire, moyen and supérieur.

The 1924 reforms also admitted the existence of a series of schools offering the full curriculum of primary education. These schools, dubbed urban schools, were to serve a population whose families spoke French at home or the children of mulattos. In some areas they were considered metropolitan schooling that taught an exclusively European population. These schools were not the mainstream of education in interwar West Africa. As late as 1934, there were but 19 such schools, 11 of which were located in Sénégal and the city of Dakar, where 4409 out of the 5,137 students attending such schools were located (see Table 2).

Students were not admitted to school or matriculated solely on the basis of merit. The criterion for admission to village school and promotion to regional school was father's status in indigenous society.[10] Students who were the sons of chiefs and notables were allowed to remain in the primary grades as long as they remained within the age ranges specified by the government: a student could not enter the cours élémentaire if he was over age 13; the cours moyen if he was over age 15 or the cours supérieur if he was over the age of 17. It was not unusual for primary school graduates to be age 19.[11] It was only in admission to primary superior grades and above where merit came into play. The regional school had no entry exams and degree examinations were not particularly stressed in comparison to other French colonies like Indochina or the metropole itself.[12]

Little elaboration on the organization of primary education occurred in the 1930s, although Governor General Brevie enthusiastically attempted to

Table 1

Primary and Primary Superior Enrollments, 1920-1938

	1920/21	1927/28	1933/34	1937/38
Village School				
N Schools	227	281	261	310
N Students	16,363	16,087	20,967	26,195
% all Students	75.8%	44.2%	44.1%	46.1%
Elementary School				
N Schools	Not counted separately	147	Abolished	
N Students		13,704		
% all Students		37.7%		
Regional School				
N Schools	63	88	74	96
N Students	4,791	5,918	20,453	21,996
% all Students	22.2%	16.3%	43.0%	38.7%
Urban Schools				
N Schools	Not counted separately		19	26
N Students			5,141	7,944
% all Students			10.8%	13.9%
Primary Superior Schools				
N Schools	5	8	8	8
N Students	435	659	974	717
% all Students	2%	1.8%	2%	1.4%
Total N Students	21,589	36,368	47,535	56,852

Source: "Situation d'Ensemble de l'Enseignement Pendant la Periode Triennale 1920-23," BEAOF, 11e Annee, No. 56 (Oct.-Dec. 1923) pp. 37-42; "Rapport Statistique pour l'Annee Scolaire, 1927-28," BEAOF, 17e Annee, No. 68 (Juillet-Dec. 1928) pp. 47-54; Gouvernement general de l'AOF, Annuaire Statisique de l'AOF, 1933-38, pp. 25, 27.

reorient the school system toward farming and transform village schools into half school, half work institutions.[13] While much fanfare accompanied Brevie's initiatives, they appear to have had little effect except in the Soudan.

The power to open, or not to open primary schools rested in the hands of local administrators at the district level within each colony. Because of this, the number and kind of schools made available throughout West Africa in the interwar years varied by region. Table 2, which presents enrollments by type of school by colony, shows that close to one-quarter of all school enrollments were concentrated in the colony of Sénégal. If the enrollments of Dakar and dependencies--both located in contemporary Sénégal, are added in, 28 per cent of all enrollments in French West Africa were confined to Sénégal. Mauritania, on the other hand, accounted for less than one per cent of all enrollments. By 1938 the French estimated that in Sénégal and Dakar, 9.5 out of every 1,000 children entered school; the figure in Dahomey was 12 out of every 1,000. In Guinée only 4.4 out of every 1,000 went to school; it was 3.8 in Soudan, 3.2 in Ivory Coast (including Upper Volta), 1.5 in Mauritania and .95 in Niger.[14] This variation existed despite the fact that in the period 1918 to 1938, school enrollments for all of French West Africa more than doubled, growing from 21,589 to 56,842.

Post Primary Education

Most educational efforts in the interwar years were concentrated on the primary level, which accounted for upwards of 98 per cent of all enrollments (see Table 1). A post-primary sector, tiny as it was, did evolve. Initially the 1903 reforms had envisioned primary education followed by a series of federal trade schools: the Ecole William Ponty was to train teachers; Ecole Pinet Laprade electricians; the Ecole des Pupilles Mecanciens indigene de la Marine, river boat pilots, navigators, and technicians; and the Medical School midwives, medical assistants and pharmacists. Through the first two decades of the 20th Century colonial officials debated whether to develop post-primary education further: should secondary education as in French lycées evolve, or should primary-superior trade education be the major mode? For a brief period a lycée was organized as was an administrative training school, both of which were located in Sénégal. For a while the Ecole William Ponty housed a section to train administrators alongside of its teacher education program. By 1921 the lycée was shut down as was the Ecole Faidherbe that was to have trained administrators. Ecole William Ponty by the mid-1920s was relieved of its administrative section and instead housed a teacher training program and a preparatory course for the Medical School. In the mid 1930s once again an administrative section opened at Ponty.[15]

It was clear by 1924 that secondary education was not in the cards for French West Africa. Instead, in a much heralded effort to "decentralize" education, the Governor General in Dakar insisted that each of the nine colonies develop a form of primary superior education, with at least one school per colony. The primary superior schools would provide a number of different programs based on each colony's needs. A colony was free to offer under this

Table 2

Distribution of Schools by Colony

c 1935

	Primary						Primary-Superior	
	Village Schools		Regional Schools		Urban Schools			
	N Schools	N Students	N Schools	N Students	N Schools	N Students	N Schools	N Students
Dakar & Dep.	5	218	0	0	5	1,544	1	39
Sénégal	65	5,744	13	4,146	6	2,865	1	151
Soudan	61	5,858	19	5,830	3	33	1	186
Guinée	38	3,736	8	3,035	3	277	1	90
Ivory Coast*	39	3,885	21	5,339	1	71	2	229
Dahomey	38	3,277	11	3,815	1	347	1	63
Niger	21	1,293	4	857	0	0	1	52
Mauritania	6	146	2	290	0	0	0	0

*Includes Upper Volta

Source: Gouvernement général de l'AOF, Annuaire Statistique de l'AOF, 1935, p. 25, Tableau II.

rubric a five-year post-primary administrative course, academic programs to prepare students for the Ecole William Ponty, short-term courses to train school aides and moniteurs, or apprenticeship and vocational training courses of anywhere from three to five years' duration. The bottom line was that each colony would have to create its form of primary superior education in accordance with local needs. Thereafter admission to Ecole William Ponty and the federal schools, now diminished in number, was contingent on the completion of primary superior education.

Post-primary education was always underdeveloped in interwar French West Africa. Table 1 shows that enrollments stagnated over the twenty-year period, despite burgeoning primary enrollments. In the 1920/21 school year primary superior students comprised two per cent of all those attending school; by the 1937/38 school year, they were but 1.4 per cent, a marked decline even over depression level enrollments. The decline over 1930 is numerical as well as in proportion of school students. The stagnation of primary superior enrollments is mirrored in the federal schools. While the government promulgated a host of decrees on these schools, often the number of decrees exceeded student enrollment. In 1929 the Veterinary School at Bamako had a student body of 6; the Marine School for Native Mechanics had 35 to 40 students in its five-year program. Ecole William Ponty was large in comparison, enrolling in that year 140 students in the teacher training and medical school preparatory programs.[16] By 1935, the Ecole William Ponty, once again with an administrative section, had an enrollment of 165: 73 in teacher training, 62 in administration and 30 in the medical program.[17] The student body at the Ecole des Pupilles Mecanciens indigènes de la Marine had 45 students, the Medical School had 23 enrolled in the Medical program, 2 in Pharmacy and 15 girls in the Midwivery section who had been recruited directly from primary school. Another 8 students were in the nursing program. The Veterinary School at Bamako's student body vegetated at 4.[18] In the 1930s a series of post-primary apprenticeship programs were opened. In 1935 ten such programs were in operation serving 454 students.[19]

The school system, through the interwar years, in short, was mostly a system of primary schools with a post-primary sector that diversified without necessarily expanding.

Teaching Staff

The expansion of the school system in the interwar years was accompanied by a doubling in the number of teachers in service. In the first two decades of the 20th Century the school staff of West Africa was predominantly European. Some of these individuals were ex-soldiers, others were the wives of French civil servants, businessmen or soldiers, and still others were professional metropolitan teachers on loan from France. So much did Europeans dominate the teaching force before the 1920s that the most widely used texts, like Monod's Premier et Deuxième Livrets de l'Ecolier Soudanais, and its 1920s revision, Premier et Deuxième Livret de l'Ecolier Noir (excerpts from which appear in this monograph) always described the village teacher as a white man and "my village"

Table 3

Teachers in Service, 1920-1938

	1920/21	1927/28	1933/34	1937/38
European				
N Staff	140	225	321	373
% Staff	23.3%	31.7%	32.2%	27.7%
African				
N Instituteurs	345	376	476	647
% Staff	57.4%	53%	47.7%	48%
N Moniteurs & Aides	116	109	201	328
% Staff	19.3%	15.3%	20.1%	24.3%
Total African	461	485	677	975
% Staff	76.7%	68.3%	67.8%	72.3%
Total School Staff	601	710	998	1,348

Source: "Situation d'Ensemble de l'Enseignement Pendant la Periode Triennale, 1920-23," BEAOF, 11e Annee, No. 56 (Oct.-Dec. 1923) pp. 37-42; "Rapport Statistique pour l'Annee Scolaire, 1927-28," BEAOF, 17e Annee, No. 68 (Juillet-Dec. 1928) pp. 47-54; Gouvernement general de l'AOF, Annuaire Statistique de l'AOF, 1934, p. 25; 1938, p. 27.

as having whites who were administrators, doctors, and teachers.[20] By the late 1920s the composition of the teaching force changed on the village school level. Whites no longer held teaching positions there and were used instead as regional school directors and primary-superior teachers; Africans, graduated from the Ecole William Ponty, were teachers in some regional schools and dominated the village school. By the time Imbert's text, Mon Ami Koffi was published in 1934, "my" teacher in the elementary grades was the African, Mr. Atlako (see translations which follow).[21]

Table 3 presents statistics on the teaching force in French West Africa. The number of teachers more than doubled from 601 in the 1920/21 school year to 1348 in the 1937/38 school year. At the same time, the proportion of Europeans to Africans in service grew, from 23.3 per cent in the 1920/21 school year to 27.7 per cent in the 1937/38 school year. The greatest growth in the teaching force was among untrained and semi-trained moniteurs and aids, hired between 1933/34 and 1937/38 school years. In 1920/21 they numbered 116, or 19.3 per cent of all instructional personnel; by 1937/38, 328 were in service, comprising 24.3 per cent of all teachers in the schools.

School Curriculum

Table 4 presents the weekly time allocations for each school subject according to the 1924 school laws. As is clear from the table, the vast majority of the 30-hour school week was devoted to the teaching of spoken French, which in the cours préparatoire took up close to half of all instructional time. The emphasis, as the table indicates, was on spoken French, not on reading or writing although the schools did teach students to read and write. Aside from instruction in the French language, the schools taught little else except for mathematics, which, on the primary level, according to the 1924 curricular guidelines "embraces arithmetic, the metric system, geometry, mental calculation and all written exercises which concern numbers."[22] Student notebooks, indicate that instruction in geometry was left to the primary-superior level of education: in the primary grades the curriculum did little more than teach the four arithmetic operations, and in some schools, not even that.

While the primary school curriculum was designed to teach the African elite to speak French, it was not designed to teach Africans to be French. Every inspector of public instruction banned metropolitan curriculum and texts from the schools and insisted that texts, adapted to the African milieu and teaching about Africa, be used in the schools. Teachers coming from France were urged to teach a curriculum that taught the history and geography of Africa, despite the fact that they knew little about either, and that used African folktales to teach French.[23] A major effort went into producing school texts that were consonant with government policy. Beginning in the 1910s a series of texts were developed, most of which were written by school inspectors like J. L. Monod, Louis Sonolet, Robert Imbert, and A. Davesne. Some of these texts were the West African equivalent of Dick and Jane readers. They often provided wealth of information about hygiene, crops, history, geography, the government of French West Africa, and the various peoples who

Table 4

Weekly Time/Subject

Time Allocation, Primary Grades, 1924

School Subject	Cours Préparatoire	Cours Elémentaire	Cours Moyen	Cours Supérieur
Moral Education	--	--	1	1
French (spoken)	12	9	8	7
Reading	6	6	4	3
Writing	3	3	1-1/2	1
Math	5	5	5	5
General Science	--	1	2	3
History & Geography	--	1/2	2	2
Drawing	1	1	1	2
Singing	--	1/2	1	1
Manual Labor	--	1/2	1	1
Physical Education	1/2	1	1	1-1/2
Recreation	2-1/2	2-1/2	2-1/2	2-1/2
Total	30	30	30	30

Source: Gouvernement général de l'Afrique occidentale française, Textes portant Réorganisation de l'Enseignement en AOF. 1 Mai 1924 (Gorée: Editions du Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'AOF, 1924), p. 39.

live there. In the primary schools French metropolitan textbooks were not used; rather, students learned from French language books about Africa, the world of work, and the rationales for French colonialism. Excerpts from these texts are included in this monograph. It is clear that they were widely used. One of the student essays, taken from their classroom notebook and translated and included in this monograph, describes in minute detail the cover of the text Moussa et Gi-gla.[24]

The government issued a monthly, sometimes bi-monthly pedagogical journal l'Education Africaine that supplemented the textbooks. The journal was begun through Hardy's efforts. From 1912 to 1917 it appeared sporadically, publishing African folktales that were deemed appropriate for school use and suggesting French composition topics. It also issued history, geography and hygiene monographs as part of regular numbers of the journal. These monographs were to form the basis of teachers' lectures in the primary schools and the readings for the primary superior grades. The journal also contained ethnographies and treatises on economic life and on the mental abilities of children, many of which were written by teachers in service in the schools.

The curricular materials developed for the schools of West Africa followed a progression which French pedagogues believed appropriate to the child's mentality. In theory, effective teaching occurred only when the teacher began with the concrete and moved slowly to the abstract. School curriculum was to stress what the child was presumed to know and progress to that which he or she did not know. In the West African context, the pedagogues questioned the mental abilities of Africans, especially their capacity to deal with abstractions.[25] As a result, the curriculum rarely strayed from materials that dealt directly with the child's environment and progressed very slowly, if at all. Year after year students began the school year in September with a month or two of French lessons that focused on the school: school materials (paper, pen, blackboard, cabinets, desks) and proper student behavior. From there the curriculum progressed to discussing the human body and its care, clothing, housing, the village, the family, animals, plants, the weather, and work. In the upper grades the year inevitably ended with French West Africa. At each grade the curriculum seemed to cover the same material with increasing degrees of linguistic, but not necessarily intellectual, complexity.

The formal curriculum of the schools represents what students were supposed to be taught, not necessarily what they were taught or what students learned. The student notebooks that are translated here provide some insight into school practices as well as student attitudes. They come as close as any documents can to suggesting that students did not entirely appropriate school knowledge. The notebooks indicate that students, especially at the primary level, where 98 per cent were concentrated, had tremendous difficulty in following day to day classroom instruction. They imply that the schools did not teach students French or anything else particularly well. Africans were not only taught not to be French; in all probability they were not even taught to read, write or speak French. Students did, however, learn the differences between Whites and Blacks and to dream of the day, to quote a school composition assignment, "When I become a Fonctionnaire."

PART TWO: SCHOOL TEXTS

Most of the texts for the schools of French West Africa were written for the primary school, where, as was pointed out in PART ONE of this monograph, close to 98 per cent of all students were enrolled. These texts were written by school inspectors in service in French West Africa.

The school texts which are excerpted in the following pages were published, for the most part, between 1920 and 1938, although one, Monod's Livrets de L'Ecolier Soudanais, was published in 1911. 1926 and 1929 editions of the text exist under different titles and are excerpted here.

The school textbooks, regardless of the grade for which they were intended, covered the same materials: proper behavior in the school, hygiene, villages, people, dress, the government, and the benefits of French rule. Cours supérieur and cours moyen texts tended to discuss French West Africa by the end of the school year; in the earlier grades the texts rarely extended their horizons beyond the village.

It is extremely difficult to fix the exact grade level for which a text was intended because of variation in school quality which French school men readily acknowledged. Texts were usually labelled as destined for several grade levels.

This part of the monograph presents excerpts from texts in use in the schools. I have grouped the excerpts. They begin with some examples of school songs that were used to teach French. The songs are followed by excerpts from a beginning primer. Most of the selections from the texts are from the reading primers. They are grouped topically, starting with discussion of proper student behavior and the school and progressing to descriptions of people and their dress, the village, work, and the benefits of French rule.

I. School Songs: Teaching French in the Village School, first year.

The schools of French West Africa used songs to teach French, especially in the early grades. Georges Hardy, the most influential of the early inspectors of education, emphasized the role of singing. He believed Africans liked to sing, that singing was a major part of the African's culture, and that singing as an instructional tool represented a critical adaptation of education to the African milieu.[1] He personally saw to it that a special text on singing was issued by the Inspectorate at Gorée. Most readers printed in the interwar years, even for the upper primary grades, contained the words and music of songs written especially for French West Africa.

The school song below reflects the tenor of the entire elementary and primary curriculum. The song emphasizes love for the village and one's own family, farming, food and the benefits of French rule.

The Song of the Little Africans

I
School boys of the village
Let us sing altogether joyously.
All the time, at work
We can only do it better
Yeah! Yeah!
We can only do it better.

II
Sing about Africa first
Whose radiant sun
Warms our hearts
With warm rosey rays
Yeah! Yeah!
With warm rosey rays.

III
Sing about our dear huts
Where our parents live
Let our good mother
Long live there
Yeah! Yeah!
Long live there.

IV
Sing about the grain which sprouts
Hope of these fields
Where we will plant our farm
When we grow up
Yeah! Yeah!
When we grow up.

V
Sing about the red kola nut
The rice and the couscous

These are the good things
Yeah! Yeah!
Of which we are fond.

VI
Let us sing about our good teacher
And sing about French men.
Would we be able to know
Without them order and peace?
Yeah! Yeah!
Without them order and peace?

VII
Let us sing about the chiefs so brave
Who broke from Samory
No more chains, no more slavery
To these conquering heroes, thank you
Yeah! Yeah!
To these conquering heroes, thank you.

VIII
Let us sing about our two countries
France and Africa are sisters.
These two cherished mothers
Only make our hearts one
Yeah! Yeah!
Only make our hearts one.[2]

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

While the schools, especially in the 1920s, served the sons of the traditional elites, they also were somewhat ambivalent, as the song below indicates, about that elite and tried to teach students a little humility.

Mahmadou, The Stuck Up

I
I am rich, says Mahmadou
My father has flocks without number.
I have rings, I have jewelry;
A cane of dark ebony.
Houhou! Houhou! Houhou! Houhou!
Is he rich? No, he is crazy.
He is stuck-up Mahmadou.

II
I am handsome, says Mahmadou
I walk with my head held high
I dress in my <u>boubous</u> [whith are]

More white than the sand of the Coast.
Houhou! Houhou! Houhou! Houhou!
Is he handsome? No, he is crazy
He is stuck-up Mahmadou.

III
I am powerful, says Mahmadou
My father is Chief of the village.
And I am master to all [of you].
You can see it well on my face.
Houhou! Houhou! Houhou! Houhou!
Is he powerful? No he is crazy
He is stuck-up Mahmadou.

IV
I am learned, says Mahmadou
I know how to read, count, write.
But do you recoil from me?
You must admire me and not laugh.
Houhou! Houhou! Houhou! Houhou!
Is he learned? No he is crazy.
He is stuck-up Mahmadou.[3]

un ca-na-ri un é-pi

un ca-na-ri *un é-pi*

i *i*

i i i

i i i

Nota : montrer un canari, un épi

en-fant vê-tu un en-fant nu

un en-fant vê-tu *un en-fant nu*

u *u*

u u u

u u u

Nota : montrer un enfant vêtu, un enfant nu.

I. — RÉCAPITULATION

i i i u u i u i u i u i i

i i i u u i u i u i u i i

II. — EXERCICE

Chercher les i et les u dans les mots suivants :

ami, épi, canari, image, fini, farine, rivière
nu, vêtu, une, usé, parure, dure, épaule
fusil, minute, bruit, cuit, cuisse, coiffure

épi, canari, image, fini, farine, rivière
nu, vêtu, parure, fusil, cultivateur, épaule

Remarque. Faire distinguer nettement les sons i et u que les indigènes confondent souvent.

ÉCRITURE

(Méthode à suivre voir page 5)

1re leçon : *i i i i* ; 2e leçon : *i i* ; 3e leçon *u u*

leçons suivantes : *i u i*

Remarque. Veiller à ce que les enfants ne copient pas les caractères d'imprimerie. Il serait utile de masquer, au moment de la leçon d'écriture, les caractères d'imprimerie.

The first lesson, Davesne's Nouveau Syllabaire de Mamadou et Bineta (1934)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

II. A Syllabary: The First Text in the Village School

The first book a student used in school was called a syllabaire. It concentrated on teaching the basic sounds of French consonants and vowels. Usually the syllabaire was used in the second half of the cours préparatoire, first year. These texts were full of illustrations. For example, in one, when the consonant g was introduced, the word langue (tongue) was used. On the top of the page was a picture of a mouth with a rather large tongue hanging out.

The first lesson in the syllabaire focused exclusively on introducing sounds. The vocabulary presented consisted of words linked by sound, not meaning, as the translation of the first lesson from a 1934 syllabaire below indicates. The syllabaire was the major text used in the village school. The French that it taught focused, as the lessons presented here show, on hygiene, the family and the school.

Lesson 1

[Picture of a pot]	un epi an ear of grain	[picture of naked and dressed child]	
un ca na ri a pot		Enfant vetu dressed child	un en fant nu a naked child
i i i i			u u u u

....

Exercise

ami friend	epi ear of grain	canari pot	image image	fini finished	farine cereal	rivière river
nu naked	vetu dressed	une a	use used	parure finery	dure hard	épaule shoulder
fusil rifle	minute minute	bruit noise	cuit cooked	cuisse thigh	coiffure hairdo	

Teachers' instruction; Clearly distinguish the sounds i and u which the natives often mix up.[4]

Lesson 11

G g

la langue (large photo of a tongue)
tongue

1. Show and say: une bague
   a ring

2. elle il un et est
   she he a and is

3. ma fi_gu_re une go_mme le ma_ri_got
   my face india_rubber the riverbank

4. Un fa_got un le_gu_me une ga_mi_ne
   a stick a vegetable a young girl

5. Je me ré_ga_le de fonio et de riz.
   I enjoy (eating) fonio and rice.

6. l'ane de babadi galope vite, vite.
   the Babadi donkey gallops quickly, quickly.

7. Amadi n'est pas joli.
   Amadi is not good looking:

8. il ne se lave pas --- sa
   He does not wash himself --- his

9. figure est sale; il sera
   face is dirty; he will be

10. malade.
    sick

11. je ne suis pas sale: je
    I am not dirty: I

12. me lave à la rivière;
    wash myself in the river;

13. je lave ma tête, ma figure
    I wash my head, my face.[5]

Lesson 61.[6]

My father is big and strong; he cultivates the field; he feeds the entire family.

My mother pounds maize and millet, cooks couscous, spins wool and cotton, sews boubous* as well as the tailor.

---

*A boubou is a loose shirt worn in parts of West Africa that comes down to the knees.

My grandfather is very old; his ears no longer hear, he is deaf.

Boubakar, my brother is a sharpshooter; he has two medals on his chest, but he is far, very far away, in the White's country.

My sister Bineta is a very pretty little girl; Aboudou, my younger brother, is a baby.

I love my whole family very much

Lesson 62.

Picture of a pencil
un cra_yon
(a pencil)

Y = I _ I

1. Yo_ro, You_souf, un crayon, un noyau, un tuyau
   Yo_ro, You_souf, a pencil, a nut, a pipe

2. ba_layer net-toyer essuyer payer envoyer
   to sweep to clean to wipe to pay to send

Il faut être propre
It is necessary to keep clean

Wash your body every morning and your hands several times a day. Have very white teeth and very short hair.

Once a week put your boubou into boiling water; you will kill lice.

Do not forget to sweep your hut, to clean the jugs where you put drinking water. Take your bedclothes out of your hut, shake them, and put them in the sun.

Throw trash far from your hut, cover it with earth. Sickness comes quickly but it leaves slowly. Cleanliness chases away sickness; it gives you good health.[7]

Lesson 63.[8]

A Morning at School

At eight in the morning the children of the village go to school. They greet the teacher, enter into the classroom without making a noise, sit down on their benches.

They listen to the language lesson, respond to the teacher's questions , then they take their reading books and read. When reading is finished, they take their slate or notebook and write; they copy or do dictated readings.

At nine-thirty it is recreation time. The students go out into the courtyard. They play, laugh, cry or rest in the shadow of the trees.

After recreation, they re-enter class; they count and do the [four] operations.

At eleven o'clock, class is finished. The students sing a song, put away their books and notebooks, they greet the teacher and go to their huts. They eat good couscous which their mother has cooked.[8]

III. School Textbooks for the Primary Grades

Once students had mastered the syllabaires, they were provided with reading primers. Most primers covered similar topics, although with some variations in the order that materials were presented and in the difficulty of the French, depending on the grade level for which the text was intended. Texts usually began with descriptions of the student and the schools, and then progressed to descriptions of individuals, the family, the village, and occupations. At the upper grade levels the texts tended to include more materials on French West Africa and on the benefits of French rule.

The excerpts from the primers here follow the general progression of the texts, beginning with students and schools and finishing with the benefits of French rule.

A. A Good Student

Outside of Senegal and the coastal towns of Dahomey, the Ivory Coast and Guinée, there was a great deal of resistance on the part of parents to sending their children to school. School children were not entirely enthusiastic about the schools either; attendance was irregular and school teachers often resorted to giving out presents as inducements to their students both to come to class and pay attention once there. The song below tries to address parents' fears about school and children's hesitancy to attend. It stresses that school is a happy place where "the good school boy enjoys himself" and tells parents that "the good school boy respects his father and mother."

The Good School Boy

I
The good school boy works
His lesson, he will know it
The good school boy works
His lesson, he will know it
He never yawns in class
He always applies himself.

Refrain
Come on child, sing sing.
Sing as much as you can.
Come on child, sing, sing.
Sing as much as you can.

II
The good school boy enjoys himself
When the time to play comes.
The good pupil enjoys himself
When the time to play comes.

He does not refuse to jump or run.
He will be stronger for it.

Refrain

III
The good school boy respects
His mother and father.
The good school boy respects
His mother and father.
With his sincere heart he loves
His teacher and does not tell lies.

Refrain

IV
But the good school boy will grow up.
One day he will become a man.
But the good school boy will grow up.
One day he will become a man.
He will cultivate the bush and serve France.[9]

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The primers in the early grades tried to explain to children their work in school consisted of not only being obedient to the white teacher, but also of forcing themselves to learn the French language, as the excerpt from a cours préparatoire, second year, text below indicates.

I go to school. I am a school boy. My name is Moussa Diara. I do not know the exact date of my birth. . . . I am still a child. Many other children of my age go to school like me. They are my comrades, my co-learners. My teacher is a white man. He is my master. I am his student. I like him and obey him. I have learned to read in the first livret. This year I will read the second one. I will force myself to understand the book after having learned to speak French well.[10]

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

There was some reticence not only about attending school; at the village level children sometimes appeared ashamed to speak the French language that the school taught. A director in the Soudan reported in 1931 that the students refused to speak French.[11] The excerpt

below, from a cours préparatoire, second year text, which urges students not to be ashamed to speak French, indicates that experience was common.

Moulai Speaks French Well

Moulai is a good student. He comes to school to learn to speak French. To learn to speak well, he knows that he must listen to the teacher speak and that he must himself speak alot as well. He always speaks French: at school, in the playground, in the street, in the shops. He is not ashamed to speak French. He is not afraid of being made fun of by his peers. Also, he speaks correctly. He uses short phrases. He uses proper words. Those who hear him speak listen to him with pleasure. Moulai speaks French well.[12]

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The school texts gave students clear directions for proper behavior in class. They also pointed out that Whites had a lot of things to teach Africans, as in the reading below, taken from a cours préparatoire, second year, primer.

Intelligence and Knowledge

Brehima understands quickly what his teacher says. He knows how to speak French, to read and to count in a short time. His spirit does not sleep; he is always alert. One could say that Brehima is intelligent. The Whites have worked a longer time on their (the White) spirit. They are intelligent and educated. Also, they discover many new things. They invent machines of all kinds: the locomotive, the telephone, the telegraph.[13]

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

While in retrospect the French may have claimed Africans had unrealistic educational and occupational aspirations, such aspirations were encouraged by the school books, as is the case in the reading below. The reading, excerpted from a cours préparatoire text, not only explains the school system of French West Africa, it draws the association between schooling and adult occupations.

Different Schools

I go to a village school. When I learn to speak, read and write French and to count well, my teacher will send me to the Regional School. There I will continue to work and learn. I will prepare for my primary certificate in order to enter the groupe centrale.* When I am 16 or 17 years old I will sit for the entrance examination for Normal School so I can become a teacher. My comrade Ali likes machines. He wants to become a mechanic. He will go to a vocational school and much later become a good worker. Here Blacks who want to work hard have every opportunity to become educated. There are schools which prepare them to become teachers, school aides, doctors, nurses, telegraphists, interpreters, typists, carpenters, smithies, farmers, etc.[14]

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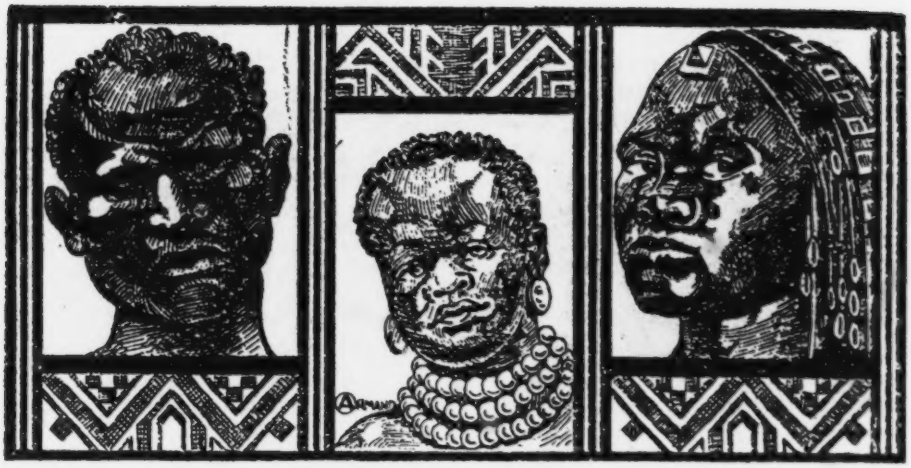
*Refers to primary-superior school

18. - Portraits et personnages



92. - SAMBA DIOUF ET SA FIANCÉE

1. Samba Diouf entra dans la case, remplie d'une telle fumée qu'elle en était tout à fait noire.

— Sédi, demanda-t-il, ta journée a-t-elle été bonne ?

— Très bonne, en vérité, Diouf ! fit dans l'obscurité une vague forme vêtue de blanc.

— Toute ta maison est-elle en paix ?

— En paix seulement ! répondit la forme blanche.

2. Le pêcheur vint s'asseoir près d'elle, sur la claie de bambou placée dans le fond de la case, puis se penchant sur le feu qui charbonnait, il en fit jaillir la flamme, alluma sa bougie et la planta sur le sol, en rassemblant la terre tout autour.

3. Alors la lumière éclaira le visage de la fille des Sédi. Elle avait le teint clair, couleur de cuivre rouge, des yeux allongés, un nez fin, des lèvres presque minces, une de ces figures en tout semblable à celles qu'on voit peintes sur les sarcophages [1] d'Egypte. Son père en effet était de cette race peuhl, venue il y a très longtemps des lointains rivages du Nil [2]. Par sa mère elle appartenait à la race des Ouolofs, et cela se voyait tout de suite parce que sa tête était rasée, à l'exception de quatre touffes posées sur son crâne poli comme quatre pompons crépus, et dont chacune rappelle une pensée que la tête d'une femme ne doit jamais oublier...

Portraits of Blacks, from Davesne & Gouin, Mamadou et Bineta Sont Devenus Grands (1939).

B. People and What They Wear

The texts of West Africa described people, but their descriptions were usually of Blacks versus Whites, and not of individuals. Typical is the reading below, excerpted from a cours preparatoire, second year, text of the 1920s.

The Blacks and the Whites

I live in Africa. I am African. I have black skin. I belong to the black race. I am a Black African. My teacher is French. He is a European. He has white skin. He belongs to the White race. He's a white man. The black has curly hair that he shaves completely. The White has straight hair, blonde or black, which he combs with a brush with care. The Black grows little beard. The White has a beard and a mustache which he can let grow or shave often. The Black wears few cloths. He wears full and light cotton garments. The White is better dressed. He wears clothing made of woolen cloth.[15]

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

While the texts compared Black and White races, they sometimes, like the excerpt below, from a 1930s cours élémentaire text, tried to minimize the significance of the racial differences the texts drew.

Blacks and Whites

We are born in Africa. Our skin is black, our hair curly, our lips thick.

We very much love our country, our grand sunlight, our huts, our markets and our festivals.

We know how to do many things. We cultivate our fields, tend our flocks, weave cloth. We make pots, we work leather, we know how to dye it.

Other men are born far away from our country. Their skin is white, their hair is straight, their lips are thin.

They very much love their country, but they also love ours. They leave sometimes to rest in their houses on the other side of the sea, but they return to our cities and villages.

They know how to do more things than us. We buy from them beautiful cloth, soap, basins and laterns.

We are fortunate to go in their trucks which travel more quickly than our feet.

There are whites, there are blacks, but there are things other than color which are important.

Black skin, white skin, it's nothing.

What counts is our qualities. As everyone says: the Blacks have many good qualities.

Be honest and work hard, never lie. These qualities are more beautiful than the color of our face.[16]

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

There was a great deal of ambivalence in the texts about the meanings of the racial differences between Blacks and Whites. The previous excerpt minimized them, the one below, which ostensibly was derived from an African folktale, used the differences to explain colonialism. This was not uncommon in the texts which often tried to show that colonialism was retribution for past misdeeds of the Black race.

Whites and Blacks: An African Folktale

When God created the world
He made Black men, he made White men.
Then he said to all: "My children
On this vast round world
I give a choice between two beautiful countries.
One produces gold, the other produces books,
In which do you prefer to live?
Black men, give me first your preference."
Thinking of getting good fortune, power and glory,
The Blacks took the land where gold is harvested.
The Whites had, as a result, to fix their existence
In the land where men read books, that treasure.
But God punished the Blacks for their greed for riches
And showed the power of books over gold.
For it is from them that Whites have drawn their wisdom
And the strength that makes Whites rule over Blacks.[17]

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The ambivalence about the meaning of race spilled over into the texts in ways other than to justify colonialism. The series of readings below, taken from Robert Imbert's widely used cours élémentaire text,

Mon Ami Koffi, in some ways liken Blacks to gorillas. The first lesson which describes the White man's cloths, ends with a statement that Blacks dress like White men along the coast. The second reading, which immediately follows it in the text, is about how a gorilla is captured because he tries to wear the White man's shoes, with the obvious moral, that "we Blacks walk well with bare feet; the gorillas would do well to do as we do."

The Clothes of White Men

When the Director of the regional school came to visit [Koffi's] school, Koffi could see that Europeans do not wear the same kind of cloths as do Blacks.

They wear a white or khaki shirt, but they do not let it hang loose. They tuck their shirt in their trousers. [The trousers] can be short or long.

The trousers are held fast by suspenders or a belt. The trousers protect their legs well.

When it is not too hot, white men wear a linen jacket. This jacket is closed in the front with three or four buttons. The jacket has pockets which are very useful.

The pockets can hold a handkerchief, keys or a knife.

For proper dress, men wear a collar and a tie around their neck. They tie sometimes has pretty colors [in it]. Europeans never walk with bare feet. They wear socks and shoes. Some shoes are made of leather, others are made of white canvas. The shoes are tied with shoelaces.

[Europeans] wear a helmet, which can be white or khaki, on their heads. If they take off their helmet on the road or in the open country, our sun can harm them badly. When Europeans are outside, they wear the helmet until sunset.

In Africa the dress of Blacks is light, but in Europe the clothing is heavier because the heat is less strong.

In France, when it is cold, [Europeans] wear sweaters and a very long and warm jacket which is called an overcoat.

Today many Blacks dress like White men, especially in the big towns along the Coast.[18]

The Gorilla and the Shoes

Tomorrow is the first day of New Year's vacation.

Before ending class, Mr. Ataklo [the teacher] told the story of the gorilla and the shoes.

"One day a young gorilla approached a village. Hiding behind a tree, the gorilla noticed a pair of shoes in front of the door of a house.

He had already seen human beings walk with shoes.

The gorilla wanted to imitate humans. When nobody was around the house, he was able to come closer.

Taking great care not to be seen, the gorilla moved forward.

He grabbed the shoes and ran off into the forest.

When he was a little distance away from the village, the gorilla put on the shoes. They were a little too big for his feet. Nevertheless, he fastened them on.

Very happy to believe himself dressed like a human being, the hunter wanted to capture him.

The animal ran away, but he was impeded by his shoes. He was unable to run as usual. The hunter quickly caught up with him and captured him. The poor gorilla regretted having put on these shoes, but it was too late."

--What moral, the teacher asked, would you draw from this story?

--Sir, little Comlan said, we [Blacks] walk well with bare feet; the gorillas would do well to do as we do.

--That's true, Mr. Ataklo responded with a smile, but this is not the only moral.

--Sir, Koffi said, one should not try to be something other than what one is.

--That's good, the teacher declared. And you, Sitou, what do you say?

--Stealing doesn't pay.

--My children, you have understood [the story].[19]

Sometimes the texts did not compare Blacks and Whites. Instead, they focused solely on Blacks, as in the reading below, excerpted from a 1939 cours supérieur primer. The description of Dahomean dress was originally from a travel-log written for metropolitan French

consumption. The tenor, which is that of the anthropologist, is characteristic of a good many readings in school texts especially in the upper primary and primary-superior grades.

Dahomean Dress

1. The dress of men is usually made of two cloths*: one is placed around the loins and falls to mid-leg; the other goes around the shoulders and falls above the knees. The first [is] smaller [and] is worn all day long during work and in the house; the other is worn in the street and at night.

2. The zipper, the snap, or the button being unknown, they tighten the cloth around the loins and put the ends together so that they cross each other to form a belt out of the cloth itself, [which is then] rolled down tightly from the hip to form a small bulge.

3. The Dahomeans most often put their two cloths around their loins and with the surplus cloth form on the right, near their hips, a bulge in the form of a bundle that they let gently hang down. The bundle of cloth is the height of elegance among the Dahomeans; the chiefs wear theirs as big as a melon. It is very fashionable to make it big; it proves that the person has a large cloth since [the bundle] is made from the surplus. The torso remains naked.

4. This way of wearing a cloth is masculine and imposing. It is distinctive to the Dahomean. He often wears a large cloth on his shoulders; to do this, he puts the cloth in front of him, disengages his right arm, throws it all over the left shoulder, his left arm rises to the level that it can fall over the shoulder. The cloth thus goes from the left to right shoulder, leaving the arm free. It is [dressed] like this that one meets the natives on the streets of Dahomey.

5. The dress of women consists of one, two, or three cloths, according to their means. The first and second begin at the waist and go to mid-thigh; the other, underneath, goes to the base of the calf. Generally, young girls do not cover their torso [and] these two cloths then constitute all their clothing.

6. Married women, on the contrary, wear a third cloth fixed under their arms, covering their chest and other clothing. These three cloths, invariable in number and length, differ enormously by color and the way they are arranged. The women, who are taught this art from birth, can make gracious clothing from these pieces of cloth. They have a way of arranging the cloth's folds so that it shows off the beauty of the material if it deserves such attention.[20]

---

*The French term here is pagne which Davesne & Gouin state in a footnote as follows: The little pagne is a simple piece of cloth about 1 meter, 60 long and 1 meter 10 wide; the large pagne is about 50 to 60 centimeters wide and 3 to 6 meters long. The term loin cloth which is the literal translation of pagne is somewhat inappropriate. I have used the term cloth.

C. My Village

The school texts devoted much space to describing "my" village, with an eye to encouraging students to love their home town and to become committed to improving it through hard work. Such an attitude is conveyed by the school song below that appeared in a cours préparatoire, second year, to cours élémentaire text published in 1934.

My Village

I
Do you see those giant trees
In the middle of the dry plain?
It is there where my parents live
Near wells filled with fresh water

Refrain:

It is not very big, my village
But I was born there, my father also.
It is still a little wild
I want it to be rich and pretty.

II
Let us decorate doors and gates with flowers
And, to shelter us from the cold
Let us build good chiminies
With earth and wood.

Refrain

III
Instead of sleeping or gossiping
Let us go clear our lands
Let us fill our granaries with millet
Too keep us from misery.

Refrain[21]

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The cours préparatoire, second year, and cours élémentaire texts discussed at length the people who live in the village. They described Whites and Blacks separately and normalized the colonial division of labor between French, White administrators and professionals, and Black natives. The sequence, as is exemplified by the translations that

follow, also presented a world in which Blacks and Whites lived in Africa in separate quarters.

The Residents of My Village

In my village live a few Whites and many Blacks. The Whites are French men. The White administrator and his aides rule the cercle.** The White doctor cares for the sick. The White teacher teaches French to children and adults. The White telegraph agent transmits letters and dispatches. The interpretors and soldiers assist the administrator. The kadi renders justice. The Blacks of my village are all farmers. They farm in their plots millet, maize, peanuts, potatoes, etc. They are also weavers, tailors, smithies, carpenters, storekeepers and peddlers. The marabouts teach the Koran and recite prayers. The griots sing at the tam-tam and we have a good time on holidays.[22]

My Village: The Native Quarter

My village is divided into two parts, called quarters. There is the native quarter and the European quarter. In the native quarter are the huts of the Blacks. The huts are generally round and are covered with straw. There are also square huts covered with earth. The wall of these huts are earthern (of a material we call banko). The huts generally have but one floor. There are a few which are two stories. A family usually lives in several huts enclosed by a wall or a thatched enclosure. It is called the compound. The compounds are separated by little straight streets. These are alleys.[23]

My Village: The European Quarter

To one side of the native quarter, there is the European quarter. There you can find pretty houses built of stone and white wash. Some have only a ground floor, others have two stories. The houses are surrounded by large verandas. Some verandas have a roof; others are merely terraces. The most beautiful European house is the Residence* which is surrounded by a vast garden. On the ground floor are offices. The Administrator and his assistants live on the second story. At the side of the Residence are found the store and horse stables of the cercle.** Further away is the prison where wrong doers are locked away.[24]

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*Refers to government house.

**French West Africa was divided into approximately 32 administrative districts called cercles.

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The texts not only preached a division of labor between Blacks and Whites, they also used descriptions of housing to rationalize colonialism. The reading below, from a 1931 cours élémentaire text, describes houses in Dahomey and how Whites are trying to teach Blacks how to improve their housing.

Houses in Dahomey

The huts of Blacks are not very solid. The wind from a storm can topple them. They are unhealthy. The light does not come in enough and illness comes too often. The animals they shelter there bring pox or lice. The smoke irritates the eyes. When the smoke goes away, the mosquitos come and bring fever.

....

The Whites try to teach the Blacks to build prettier and more solid huts. In the large cities, in Dakar, Bamako, Porto Novo, etc., many natives have pretty houses with doors and windows, a tile roof, a bamboo porch, iron beds, chairs, tables and dressers.[25]

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The texts also described markets in the villages. The descriptions were often quite lively, as in the school song below which was written for the cours préparatoire, second year.

The Market

I
It is the market day at the village.
What noise, what movement
What laughter, what a racket.
Listen to the cries of the merchants:
Ho-là, my dear, Ho-là.
What I see is not expensive
Buy from me.
Ho-là, it's one of a kind, it's magnificent.
And, believe me, it's for a trifle.
And, believe me, it's for a trifle.

II
Early Marietou gets ready
And, having put on a pretty boubou,
Goes with a large basin on her head
To market with Habitou.
Here is rice, here
At a very good price. She discusses
And disputes.
She calculates and gesticulates
To buy only a good bargain
To buy only a good bargain.

III
Habitou, near her mother,
Listens to all she says.
She learns what it is necessary to do
When one wants to get a better price.
It is necessary, little one, it is necessary
In the market to discuss alot
And count quickly.
If you waste, little girl,
You will lose your well-being
And have nothing
And have nothing.[26]

D. Work and the Trades

The school texts often were a long litany about the necessity of working. The school song, about the village, presented earlier talked about how everyone needed to work to improve their home town and make it a pretty, prosperous place. Many such songs and readings appear such as the one below, which urges students to combat laziness.

To Work

I
So that our Africa will be rich
Friends, let us set to work.
Let us stir up the fallow land
Let us thrash the iron
Push the rail.

Refrain:

Noise of the hammer, o, joyous noise
From St. Louis to Bingerville,
Go tell the lazy people
That only laziness is vile.

II
Let us mock those who blush at the thought
Of working with their ten fingers.
The man whose hands enrich
Is more noble than all kings.

Refrain

III
The land of Africa must
At last leave its long sleep,
In the workshops, in the boutiques,
In the fields sound the reawakening.[27]

The texts did not always try to convince Africans to work to improve their villages. As in the selection below, taken from a cours préparatoire text, individual self-aggrandizement is the motive force. In the selection work for money is equated with work for a White man.

Work

Moussa really wanted a new boubou, but his mother couldn't buy it for

him. He went to find a White man and said to him: "Sir, my boubou is torn. Mama is poor and cannot get me a new one. I want to buy it myself. Can you hire me as your little boy after school is out, I beg you?"

The White man smiled and said to him: "It's fine, my friend, be my boy and Saturday your mother will get a franc for her Moussa. With this franc and another and yet another, she will be able to buy you a boubou."

Work leads to prosperity.

One never gets anything without having worked for it.[28]

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

The school texts did more than urge students to work, to earn a living, they, as in the reading above, saw nothing particularly problematic about African primary school graduates, in all likelihood, the sons of traditional chiefs and notables, taking up employment as a servant to a White man. In fact, as in the reading excerpted below from a cours moyen text, it was seen as part of the elite's education. The text from which the reading is excerpted is the story of two young primary school graduates who travel through Fench West Africa first as servants to a French trader, and later as servants to a French army officer. In Dakar, one of the children, Moussa, meets up with his former school teacher, Mr. Gilbert. Mr. Gilbert is thrilled to learn that Moussa is a boy to a French man and says to him the following:

This really pleases me, said M. Gilbert, for it is always unavoidable to love the man who becomes a servant when he deserves praise. The differences between the races is of little importance. Goodwill has no color. There is, on the contrary, an advantage for a Black to be in the service of a White man because White men are more educated, more advanced in civilization than Black men, and Black men, thanks to Whites, can make the most rapid progress, learn better and more quickly to know more things and become one day truly useful men. On their part, Black men render services to Whites by helping them with their muscles to execute projects of all kinds the Whites have undertaken, in cultivating fields which sustain commerce and also in fighting for France in the ranks of the native troups. Thus the two races associate with each other and work in common for the prosperity and well-being of all.[29]

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

The school texts did talk about various occupations that Blacks could assume. The major emphasis was on farming. The reading below,

from a cours supérieur text, tended to romanticize farming and likened the work to a ballet.

Work in the Fields

And now, to work. They light a fire which purifies the bush and which fertilizes the soil. It is the end of the dry season, in February and March. Across Africa large red embers and vast, heavy black smoke surround the blocks of peasant houses.

Men clear the blackened bush. They level the trunks of trees which survive.

Finally come the herds of cattle which graze [and fertilize] the earth which is once again burned. These cattle do not belong in general to the peasants but to nomadic herders, the Peuhls, who loan them to the villages.

It is a matter right now of work. Rarely [are there] plows. The native instrument, the tool that feeds men, it is the hoe, a kind of pick which sometimes is only a stick that has been curved and blackened by fire.

I have seen them, the laborers, men on one side, women on the other, who form a single army lined up for battle and who hack away [at the earth]. A musician leads them and rouses them [on]. It [the army] advances, flowing from one end of the field to another, turning with each blow of the axe. The naked and curved bodies glisten with sweat under the sun. The work resembles a well regulated ballet. And, sometimes, a young man or young girl, carried away by their ardor for their task, straighten up, strikes the flat part of the axe and gives out a cry of joy.

Having come near to the farming encampment or a village, women and children, in Indian file, carry food for the workers in jugs and baskets on their heads. And their march is equally as beautiful as a dance.[30]

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

The messages about farming were not always consistent. While the African might prepare the fields for planting in a way that "resembles a well regulated dance," as in the reading above, school texts were also clear that African farmers needed to improve their modes of production. The two readings below, both from a cours préparatoire, second year, and cours élémentaire text, tried to introduce new

techniques of production and new crops, arguing that the African farmer could not make money unless he listened to the White man.

Palm Oil

But the native farmers do not know how to make palm oil well: they throw the fruit into boiling water, then remove it, allow it to cool, and crush it with their feet. The oil is dirty; it is not good; it keeps badly and becomes acid.

Children, if later you have a palm oil plantation, buy a machine called an oil presser. It will not cost alot of money. It will allow you to make, without tiring you out, good oil that you will sell at a good price.

You will earn alot of money, you will become rich.[31]

Cocao

The Blacks of the Ivory Coast did not want to plant cocao trees. The Whites forced them to do so.

Now the farmers of the Ivory Coast are very rich. They have big houses, pretty clothes. Many even own automobiles.

They are happy now to have listened to the advice of the Whites.[32]

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

The texts did talk at length about the trades, as well as about farming. The school song below, from a cours préparatoire, second-year text published in 1934, enumerates three trades: smithing, shoe making, and weaving.

The March of the Trades

I
Me, I'm the smithie
Who hammers.
Me, I'm the smithie
Who hammers pretty and good
O-hé, who hammers pretty and good.

II
Me, I'm the shoemaker
Who makes, who makes
Me, I'm the shoemaker
Who makes shoes
O-hé, who makes shoes.

III
Me, I'm the weaver
Who clothes, who clothes
Me, I'm the weaver
Who clothes the children
O-hé, who clothes the children

IV
It is the patrol
Of all the good workers.
This is the joyous march
Of all the good workers.
O-hé, This the joyous march.[33]

* * * * * * * * * * * *

In the cours supérieur the texts seemed to present a wider range of occupations, as in the reading below. The excerpt, after having described traditional occupations and the new ones: "bus drivers, dock workers of Dakar, boys, employees, carters and movers, planters and boat cargo watchmen"--all on the lower end of the occupational structure (and omitting the professions), makes it clear that the major work Africans do is farming.

Occupations in French West Africa

Here are the people who have occupations: the smithies form a scorned, but awesome caste. Who dares to be seated near charcoal ready for iron working by the anvil of a master worker? [The smithies] have tall earthenware furnaces, the height of a man. Once a year they go to look for minerals from the red hills. They have their children tend the forge fire and work the double bellows [which are] made of goat skin. They are jewelers and gun smiths. They make long and ornamental nails for the houses of rich people; knives, sickles, axes, hoes and hatchets for peasants; rings, necklaces and bracelets for everyone; harness bits and stirrups for horsemen; picks, lances and arrowheads for men; they renovate old muskets, make musket balls and prepare gun powder for hunters.

There are villages of fishermen, along the rivers and in the lagoons

by the sea. There are villages of dyers in the Soudan. And one doesn't know what smells stronger: dried fish or the indigo vats. There are also villages of weavers which seem frequented by spiders who stretch white and colored threads in the alleys. There is not a city worthy of that name which does not have a quarter or market frequented by butchers, slaughterers of sheep and cattle. And, here are the tanners, the bootmakers, the leather goods traders and the harness makers. Here are the meat roasters and their good friends the meat friers.

Have I mentioned the tailors? They right now are on the verandas of European boutiques. There they install their sewing machines and they transform large pieces of shirting and madapolam* brought all the way from Manchester with a warrior, a sultan or an animal printed on the fabric, into boubous, camisoles, loin cloths or even complete jackets and robes with sleeves.

And there are villages of salt miners over there in Fogha on the Niger, villages of gold boullion makers at Siguire in Guinée and in the Lobi countries in Upper Volta, and villages of potters in lower Dahomey.

And I have not spoken of the wrestlers and jugglers, the herders, the cattle traders, the caravaners, the boatmen, the innumerable peddlers, public scribes, hunters, nor all those who braid straw and palm fibers.

Nor have I spoken of the men of new occupations: the bus drivers, the dock workers of Dakar, the boys, the employees, the carters and movers, the planters, and the boat cargo watchmen.

Gigantic, but unseen and half-naked, a hoe in hand, a shadow dominates: it's the peasant.[34]

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The choice of an occupation was always portrayed as a free one. While the texts described in detail the trades, as in the reading above, they tried to orient students toward farming. In the reading below, Koffi, the major character of the book, considers seriously whether he will become a tailor, mason, potter, or a weaver. He freely rejects these occupations, because he wants "healthy" work which lets him choose his hours of labor.

The Choice of a Trade

No, Koffi does not scorn manual labor. He well knows, moreover, that

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*Type of British cloth manufactured for the African market.

he will never be an author or a teacher. He must work with his ten fingers.

What will he do? He asks himself this several times.

Many trades attract him.

At the market at Dafo, he had watched a tailor for a long time. This trade does not soil his hand. The work is quickly done with a sewing machine. But the tailor must be seated at all times. Koffi knew that very well. He thinks that he would not be able to stay in the same place for a long time.

Koffi also remembers masons who were building a shop. He admired their skill in making walls so straight. But he would have to leave his village because these masons came from the city.

Several times Koffi stops to watch potters. It must be fun to make vessels [containers] of all shapes.

Like the potters, Koffi has tried to mould clay. The little pot that he made was not regular. It had one side bigger than the other. The edge was even split. How would he be able to make successfully big storage jars?

---One doesn't learn to do this in a day, one old potter, looking at his little pot, told him.

Koffi also asks himself if he will become a weaver. In a small place, at the exit to the village, there are three weavers who work. Sitting in front of their looms, they make their strip of cloth grow longer little by little. Often they weave only white strips. Other times they mix colors and the strip is more attractive.

But I do believe that our friend Koffi will stay with his father to cultivate the fields. It is hard work, but it is healthy work. He can live outdoors, he can start work when he wishes, he can finish it when he wants to. And what pleasure when, having tended fields well, a person has a good harvest!

Yes, I do believe that Koffi will become a farmer.[35]

E. The Benefits of French Rule

Besides teaching French, the major mission of the schools was to teach loyalty to the French colonial government. As has been evident in the excerpts translated earlier in this monograph, loyalty to the French colonial government permeated materials even on planting cocoa or building houses. The texts sought to teach Africans that they could learn alot from France. Other rationales for colonialism abounded in the texts. Below is a school song that tells students they should love France, as a son loves his mother.

Hymn to France

I
France, your powerful hands have broken our chains
From tyrants [who] sold us like beasts of burden.
They killed our children and ravaged our goods.
But you delivered us and made men of us.

Refrain
Hail France and glory to thy name.
We love you like our mother
For it is to you that we owe
The end of our miseries.

II
France, your powerful hand is full of kindness.
You make gold out of the harvests from our land.
You cure illness and bring the rule of law.
And you arouse in us your brilliant light.

Refrain

III
As a giant tree dominates the bush
Your great past puts you at the forefront of history.
And, we your sons, so proud of carrying your beloved name
We wish to earn our part in your glory.

Refrain

The texts were always quite specific as to what "miseries" France ended. The reading below, from a cours supérieur text, is on slavery which the French brought to an end. The reading below shows that so corrupting was the slave trade that fathers sold their sons for a mere rifle. France, by implication, has stepped

in not only to end trafficking in slaves, but also to protect sons from their fathers.

A Horrible Market in the Time of Slavery

(Evine exchanges his son for a rifle)

1. Evine approaches to negotiate.
---Have you rifles?
---Yes, says Shilikwe.
---What do you want in exchange?
---An elephant's tusk, a parcel of rubber or a woman or a slave.
Do you have that?
Evine found that expensive. He does not have ivory, not enough rubber, not a woman to give.
---Then a slave, said Shilikwe.
Evine went away to think (about it). He couldn't buy the rifle and the caravan was going to depart shortly.

2. That night, he couldn't sleep. Suddenly he got up without (making) noise and went softly towards Shilikwe's hut where the light still shown. Then Sala's father and the trader had a short conversation, then, Evine returns home, stretches out on his [sleeping] mat, very close to Sala's and peacefully goes to sleep.

3. In the morning the whole village is on its feet to help with the [caravan's] departure. Shilikwe greets his friends and takes the head of the convoy. His warriers, strong and proud, follow him, then [come] the slaves heavily loaded down, then the women. And, rapidly, the village reassumes its usual appearance.

4. The caravan had not taken 200 steps into the forest when Evine called Sala:
---See, he said, Shilikwe has forgotten this bunch of bananas that I sold him yesterday. Quickly, let us run, we can catch up with him.

5. Sala took the bunch of bananas and, followed by his father, left running on the small path. They quickly overtook the caravan. Sala put the bunch of bananas on the ground and immediately three or four of Shilikwe's warriors seized him. Sala struggled, tried to escape, but he was immediately thrown to the ground and solidly held down. A rope brutally tied his wrists behind his back, he gets up.
---Father, he cries.

6. But Evine talks with Shilikwe. He examines a superb rifle, he thinks well of Sala! The warriors laugh, so do the women. The trick has been played. The cord (made of) hippopotamus hide tears Sals's naked shoulders.
---Walk, they yell at him.
---Father, cries Sala again, with a sob.
But Evine, his beautiful rifle in hand, is already on the path returning to the village.
---Walk, slave!

7. And Sala's back is whipped again. Sala walks and rejoins the others, the trader's flock.
---Good business! Shilikwe cries out.[37]

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The slave trade was one rationale for colonial rule; the other was inter-tribal warfare. Africans, as the reading below indicates, were unable to protect themselves from ferocious Touaregs until the French stepped in. The reading, which is from Chapter 3 of the cours moyen text, Moussa et Gi-gla, is on the city of Timbouctou. The text tells the story of two African children who wander through French West Africa. At Timbouctou, Moussa, one of the children meets Moktar, an interpreter for the French, who lives there. Moktar's speech is typical of the French revision of African history. France rules Africa to allow Africans to reachieve their past grandeur and prosperity which were destroyed by tribalism and marauding Arabs.

The city [Timbouctou] was then the prey of the ferocious Touareg people. These plunderers, desert nomads, were our masters. At every opportunity, they made Saurai merchants and caravans which they had not already plundered in the bush pay heavy tribute. The Touareg raids were without cease; they alarmed us and destroyed all trade. In place of the beautiful houses that you, little Moussa, have admired, you would have found ruins, debris from fires and miserable crumbling huts.

....But today all has changed. Those who had been forced to flee have returned to the city. They live there happily and peacefully and their business prospers. Suburbs have been built around Tombouctou and its population has more than doubled. There had been here in the past an important community of merchants that the Touaregs had ruined. The community has just been refounded and its members are in the process of growing rich. Our beautiful city has rebecome that which it was in the past when people from the Coasts of Africa searched there for science and wisdom.

----And, Moktar, is it the French who have done you so much good?

----Yes, in the past the Touaregs and before them the Moroccans and all our former masters pillaged us, massacred us or reduced us to slavery.

----Well, concluded Moussa, with a serious expression on his little face, I will do as you, Moktar, I will faithfully serve France.[38]

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While the texts may have harped on the disorder and famine that they presented as characterizing the African's past, French colonialism,

as far as the text were concerned brought more benefits than merely ending the slave trade tribal warfare and Arab invasions. France brought prosperity and, as in the reading below from a cours elementaire text, "treats the natives like her sons" and improves their lives.

France and Her Colonies

1. In her colonies, France treats the natives like her sons. She tries to make their lives more agreeable. She builds schools to teach children, hospitals and dispensaires to care for illnesses, roads to permit traders to travel to buy from the natives merchandise they have for sale, and to give them in exchange for clothing tools and ornaments. France chases away thieves and bandits; she fights against misery and famine.

2. In the past Blacks could not live in peace in their country. At any time cruel warriors arrived, burned down villages and crops, killed the inhabitants or lead them away to slavery.

Today the cultivator is sure of harvesting peacefully the fruit of his labor. The shepard no longer fears his flocks will disappear; mothers no longer tremble for their children's safety.

3. And, do you know, child, what France asks of you in exchange for so many benefits? She tells you:

"Work; I will help you and you will become rich. Dress yourself better, build more beautiful and larger huts; listen to the doctor's advice. You will live longer and you will conserve your health, for without health there is no joy!"

4. Next year, when you will be capable of reading a more difficult book than this one, you will learn all that which France has done in her colonies for Black children and their parents.

Then you will still better understand than you do now how much you must love France. You will try to become that which she wishes you to be: a strong man, a worker, educated and just.[39]

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According to the texts, France brought progress and modernization. As in the reading, from a cours superieur text, the French have built ports, roads, railroads, telegraphs, cities and factories. This particular reading followed directly in the text the excerpt printed earlier, entitled "A Horrible Market in the Time of Slavery (Evine exchanges His Son for a Rifle"), no doubt to heighten the contrast between Africa of the past and Africa under colonial rule.

The French Work in AOF

At Dakar there is a large port, at Conakry a breakwater, at Bassam and at Cotonou wharfs and I no longer have to disembark [from ships] by dug-out canoe. At Tombouctou, Gao and Zinder there are roads and I have travelled [there] more often by car than by camel.

Between the desert and the coast and between the two shores made accessible, is a new country made out of very old countries, where a new order reigns and where flows and is found a double current of life: one comes from France; the other the issue of Africa.

The railroad, roads, the telegraph run across the natives' tracks. Colonial cities rise among Negro villages and old fields.

The camel caravans have not been threatened by lance or arrows. And, in the small outposts in the interior, in the very heart of Africa, the natives are surrounded by profound peace.

The African Residence [in Dakar] which I left several months ago, seems to have the appearance of a farm. The protecting walls--it was once an old military post--have been dismantled, pierced and now only enclose a garden. At the end of a beautiful alley of mango trees, I still see a sinister serpent: the old South Path, the slave route. But it gets lost in the fields. There are no more Black slavers. A factory smokes, lorries honk their horns. They carry casks of peanut oil to the station which are expected 6,000 kilometers away in Marsailles.[40]

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The texts often asked what children could do in return for all the wonderful works that France has brought about in West Africa. One reading, that was reprinted earlier, stated that everyone should work hard and farm; another suggested that students love France and serve her. The reading below, from a cours élémentaire text, is not as vague. In return for all the French have done, Africans should register for the tax roles and pay their taxes. The reading below is from Imbert's 1934 Mon Ami Koffi. Koffi, in the chapter that precedes this excerpt, sees the White men in the village square and asks why they are there. He also notices that the village chief is the first to register, and he watches the registration with his friend Sousou. Both children then go to school and their teacher Mr. Ataklo explains what the registration is about.

The Registration

One after another all the heads of families advance.

"Here's your father, Koffi," tells Sousou. "Here's mine right now."

The three friends wanted to stay and watch longer, but it was time to go to school.

They were not too late, but they arrived at the moment when their class mates entered the classroom.

"Were you in the square?" asked the teacher.

"Yes, sir," replied Kouvani. "But we didn't understand why they wrote down the names of all the people."

"It's a little difficult to understand," said Mr. Ataklo. "I'm going to explain it all to you, listen well."

"You are very content to sleep peacefully through the night. You know you have nothing to fear. There no longer are enemies who come to attack the village as there were in the old days. It is because there are sharp-shooters or guards everywhere.

"You are very content, if you travel, to be able to cross the rivers on solid bridges. It is European workers who have had them built.

"You are even more happy to go to school to learn alot of things or go to the dispensary if you are sick or hurt.

"But it is necessary to pay nurses, doctors, teachers, sharpshooters and the Whites who work for us.

"They can't live if they are not paid.

"Since these people work for everyone, it is everyone who must pay them.

"Every year your fathers give a small sum of money to the village chief. The chief sends this money to the administrators who pays those who serve us.

"Everyone must pay. It wouldn't be right if some people didn't pay. It is in order to know if everyone pays that they ask the name of all the inhabitants of the village.

"To write all these names down is called the registration. They take the registration in all the colonies."[41]

PART THREE

STUDENTS' FRENCH COMPOSITIONS

While the French colonial government perscribed school curriculum and published textbooks, the textbooks do not represent the sum of what schools taught or students learned. A better idea of what students were actually taught can be derived from their written work. Part Three of this monograph presents excerpts from students' classroom French composition assignments that have been translated from their notebooks which are held by the French National Archives, Overseas Section.

The notebooks from which the compositions come were brought to France for the Colonial Exposition at Vincennes in 1931 as part of French West Africa's exhibit. They probably represent "the best" of the schools rather than their worst. Despite this, the notebooks do cover a range of schools and almost every grade level in which students did written exercises on the primary and primary-superior levels. They cover but a brief time period, namely the Fall months of 1930. The notebooks are not from all over West Africa; they come primarily from Upper Volta and the schools of Ouagadougou and, to a lesser extent, Bobo-Dioulasso. Several notebooks are from Dahomey, Guinée and the regional school at Kayes in the Soudan. Missing entirely are the notebooks from Sénégal, Mauritania and the Ivory Coast.

The notebooks from which the translations come are of three sorts. One was the students' notebooks in which they wrote their daily lessons, worked mathematics problems and took lecture notes and, in some instances, drew pictures. These are the Cahiers de Devoirs (or Exercise Books). In many primary schools student kept one such cahier for all school subjects; in the upper primary and primary superior grades students kept one cahier de devoirs for each school subject. Teachers graded students' notebooks; in some they told students how to rewrite their essays and corrected students' spelling, grammar and usage as well as their thoughts.

The second kind of cahier is the Cahier de roulement which belonged to the school, not to the individual student. Each day a different student in a class was required to write the entire day's lessons in the cahier de roulement. The book circulated through the class repeatedly throughout the school year and was supposed to provide teachers with a quick overview of their class' progress. The roulement was not only intended to help the teacher, it was also a means of pedagogical control. School directors as well as school inspectors periodically reviewed the cahiers de roulement to see whether teachers followed state-prescribed curriculum and adequately corrected student work. It is not uncommon to find acerbic notes scribbled by an inspector or director, such as the one in the second year elementary cahier de roulement at the Regional School at Ouagadougou that stated: "The teacher doesn't place sufficient importance on writing skills."[1] The cahiers de roulement give an excellent picture of students' day to day work.

The third kind of cahier from which I have excerpted compositions is one that simply selected the best work of the school for display. There were several such cahiers in the archives, each with elaborate covers. In one the cover was carved wood and depicted village life in Dahomey. The cahiers from Dahomey that I have translated here are of this sort and are not in any way as representative of the norm of classroom work as the cahiers de devoirs or the cahiers de roulement.

The translations that follow cover almost every grade level in primary and primary superior school. I have chosen to focus solely on the French compositions in this monograph because they reveal a great deal about how students approached the work that the schools asked them to do. The French compositions show this more than mathematics exercises, although the mathematics work does show that the school demanded very little rigor from the students and did not try to teach terribly much very quickly.[2] The French compositions, in a more subtle way, make the same point, while at the same time telling us much about students' perceptions of the world around them, many of which were school-induced.

Some of the compositions I have included were corrected by teachers and provide a rare opportunity to understand what schools corrected and left uncorrected and how teachers commented on their student's work. As will be evident from the translations included here of teacher comments against students' work, rarely did the teachers attend carefully to the mechanics of written French: spelling, verb-subject agreement, and the like. More time seems to have been spent trying to mold students' ideas than in trying to get them to write good French sentences. I have tried, in the translations that follow, to give some idea of the types of mistakes that students made in verb/subject agreement, spelling, verb tense, and the like so that the mistakes left uncorrected become evident. By so doing I have some liberties with translation.

I have not grouped the compositions here by grade level, although this could no doubt be done. Most of the essays are written by primary-superior school students, the top two per cent of students in the school system. Most were over 17 years old; several were older. There are few French compositions from the primary grades. In large part this is because students prior to the cours moyen could barely write a French sentence. Students in the cours élémentaire usually did not write French compositions. When they did, they were at best four sentence affairs. For example, 10-year old Patida Moussa wrote the following composition, earning him a grade of 10 out of a possible 10 points:

> What I do at school. I comes to school to become educated. I learnt to read, to write, to count. I work well, I aply myself.[2]

In the cours moyen, French composition lessons began in earnest. They appear to have been assigned at most monthly. By the time a student went to primary-superior school, weekly French compositions were required.

The compositions translated here are typical of the kinds of topics that

students were asked to write about. They were precisely those topics recommended by the articles on how to teach French composition that appeared in the pedagogical journal of French West Africa.[3] Composition assignments commonly asked students to describe their school, events at their school and proper school behavior as well as objects immediately before them like their book or their teacher's pith-helmet. They also asked students to describe people, places and what they would like to do after they finished their schooling. The composition topics followed the curriculum of the schools. The progression of topics appears quite similar to those found in the school textbooks which were excerpted in Part Two of this monograph.

The compositions which follow are grouped around the topics that parallel roughly the materials in the texts: they begin with a description of the school, and then proceed to self-portraits and portraits of people, descriptions of objects, events and places; and end with the essays about things students would like to have or do after leaving school.

I. The School

The textbooks described the school; students were asked to write compositions that did so as well. Below is a composition, written by 13-year old Siaka Sanon a student in the cours moyen, first year, at the Regional School at Bobo-Dioulasso in Upper Volta. Like the textbooks that describe European and African quarters, Siaka places the school, quite aptly, as midway between the European and African worlds.

The school at Bobo-Dioulasso is located, from east to west, between two quarters: the European quarter and the native quarter. The school has a rectangular shape. Our school is elevated on a story which serves as the Director's lodging. It has eight classes. It has almost 600 students. Our school is well maintained. It is very useful because it is there that I become instructed.[4]

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Not only did students write about what their school looked like, they also were asked to describe the behavior of a good student. The essay below was written by a student who was in the second year of the Primary Superior School at Ouagadougou in Upper Volta. The words sound almost like direct quotations from primary school textbooks. The essay also illustrates the variability in school standards. The essay, written by a student who had at a minimum four more years of schooling than Siaka Sanon who wrote about his school at Bobo-Dioulasso, has far more mistakes, left uncorrected by the teacher, and has no greater complexity of thought or French language usage.

A Good Student

A good student is always follows the advice the teacher gives to his students. He is polite and docile. When the teacher explains a lesson, his listens attentively and tries to understand the explanations his teacher gives.

The good student does not study only for fear of being punished; he studies to satisfy his teacher and his parents.[5]

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

At the beginning of the school year, students in primary superior grades were asked to describe the first day of school. Primary superior schools were invariably boarding schools. Over summer vacations students went to their villages. The essay below was written

by Maurice Silare, a first year student at the Primary Superior School at Ouagadougou. The essay was filled with mistakes, some of which were corrected, some of which were not. In the final paragraph alone there are at least four mistakes in the French that the teacher ignored. I have underscored the mistakes in the French the teacher caught. The remarks on the left margin are translations of the teachers' comments.

The essay is full of trite sayings, taken, again directly from the school texts (see translations in Part TWO of this monograph). Maurice Salare, for example tries to please his teacher by stating, although in incorrect French, that "it is necessary to work in order to get pleasure." In the essay, he connects hard work at school with easily earning a living.

Teacher Correction	Student Essay
	I arrived at school Sunday the 14th of September toward
when	6:00 at night at the moment <u>during which</u> the great sun seemed to be covered with its great mantle.
	The vast grassy courtyard, on which fell the night, was
returned from	animated by students <u>come from</u> vacation and one could say that it was a dispersed herd. Not far from there, to the east was the washroom and to the west the toilettes emptied each morning by prisoners. Confused cries and
stretched out on	calls are heard. Some, tired from their trip, were <u>held over</u> their mats <u>above</u> and looked at the pretty moon that
resembled think	<u>resembles</u> a golden canoe. And they <u>thinks</u> about parents who they have left for six months.
	Like small music to the mouth, the others play and learn to dance in the big building.
	Seated in a group, school mates and friends gossip joyously about what had happened in their village during vacation. Oh, how happy I was to find my school mates in good health.
This exercise is too long	From the dormitory I see the first year, that is to say, my class, which seemed to say to me: "Child, you have come to see me, work with good will, do all your teacher tells you to do. After having done that, thus, in all other classes you will easily earn a living. And, remember that
there is no pleasure at all	in life, without a little work, <u>one has at all pleasure</u>."
	The length of the naked and sweating body of the manual laborers pass across the dormitory and put the dishes of

the school boys on the tables. One time the plates had been placed, each student sat in his place to eat. And, after the eats everyone went to bed.[6]

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Maurice Silare's essay indicates that he was pleased to be back at school. The composition below, written by one of his classmates, Ardiouma Ouattara at the Primary Superior School conveys this directly. He states, that he was bored over his vacation and is glad to be back in Ouagadougou to "take a turn in the city." The schools may have tried to teach students to like the countryside, but it is clear that this student preferred the town.

Teacher Corrections	Student Essay
	I arrived at Ouagadougou Sunday, the 14th, at night by
Bus, not post	post. I have come to give good night to Mr. and Mrs. Allier.
I began by going to greet it	In leaving for the dormitory, I found several students in the courts who talk and I am going to greet them because they do not know that if is me. Having arrived in the dorm-
that I see	itory, the classmates who run to the right and to the left
add me	to greet and ask for some news of my country. Some, astonished
ask	to see me, asks me: "Hullo, since when?" I respond, "Right away." After I see that all the place is filled by students. Some play; others sleep; still other cook. On the next day
courtyard	I see that the courts no longer has its appearance; at this moment It is covered with grass. The buildings are as I left
had been dormitory	them, but they had whitewashed, even the kitchen. Half of the room of the first year class had become now the classroom of the fifth year class. In each class order and cleanliness reign. The Director has written down our names to make us do a visit to the hospital; for some of us can pass on sickness. After I get dressed to go to take a turn in the city.
	I am very happy to return to our school since I was bored in my home country.[7]

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Students in their essays indicated they liked school and returning to it. This, for the most part, was the case in most of the essays

that the Overseas Archives held. The essay below, written by Benoit Capo-Chichi, a first year student at the Primary-Superior School in Dahomey, conveys the same attitude, which might well be a function of students writing what teachers expect them to write. However, the essay below expresses joy not at returning to school, but at leaving it. Benoit Capo-Chichi likens much of the school routine to being in the army. He describes the students' dismissal line as one of soldiers.

It is eleven o'clock. It's time for school dismissal and you can hear the song for the departure intonated by the students of the youngest class. The head teacher for the week gives the signal; the students leave [the classroom] and line up.

"Attention!" says the Director. "Left! Right! Left! Right! Left! Right!"

And the students mark their steps and line up along the big street. Having arrived in the accustomed place, a new signal is given, the students stop almost instantly.

"To the right! The right!"

"Broun!" The students face the teachers.

"Salute!"

And, like soldiers, they carry their hands to their temples.

"Fall out."

Immediately a deafening din is heard. The street then becomes bustling. Some small students run toward the market; others, on the contrary, take the path to their home or buy doughnuts from the small hawkers who crowed around the [school's] exit. Others [who are] much older and wiser get together and talk, be it about the French <u>dictée</u> or the math problems they have done.

Meanwhile, two bad students fight to one side like dogs. I approach them to separate them. They have heavy respiration, red eyes, clenched fists and teeth gnashed by anger. To interrupt the battle, I grab ahold of them by their back and flank and give each two good slaps. Calmed, the two children go home.

My friends and I also take the road to our houses, laughing.

The road becomes again calm and silent like nature becomes peaceful after the passing of a storm.[8]

II. PORTRAITS OF PEOPLE

The French composition curriculum often asked students to describe themselves or people around them. Many of these essays, especially the self-portraits, parallel the descriptions of Blacks that are found in the school textbooks. The essay below is written by Maurice Silare,a first year student at the Primary Superior School at Ouagadougou. It was clear that some of the essay is suggested by the teacher, for in the last paragraph he states that he loses his temper quickly. The second essay, written by his classmate Chiedrago Kouka, has a similar statement.

I am a child of the Mossi race, about 15 years old. I have a small head covered with black, curly hair, a protruding and broad brow, large ears, broad jolly face, large eyes which frighten little children. I have fat cheeks, large temples on which there are three knife scars. My little nose is flat, having rubbed against my mother's shoulder since infancy [and I have] a small mouth, a short little chin, a little neck which doesn't have an Adam's apple, a little chest that stands out, a little flat stomach, large legs, well-formed calves and finally feet that have large heels.

I am lively and I get up every morning before the breakfast bell rings. I like to play serious games alot and pretty things. I lose my temper quickly but only for a short time because I do not have a hard heart. I do not eat alot, but I drink alot. I like all my school mates, for I make them smile every day when I tell them interesting and serious stories.[9]

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Chiedrago Kouka, who wrote the essay below, was Maurice Silare's classmate at the Primary Superior School at Ouagadougou. His essay is the most hostile of those in the archives. He makes a point of stating that he speaks Mossi like his parents in a school system that was trying to get students to speak French and not be ashamed of it (see the translations of the texts in Part TWO of this monograph). He also seems to have no difficulty in expressing his hostility. He states that he has a bad temper, particularly with his school mates and his teacher and that he is ungrateful, disordered, not attentive and not proud. In the preceding paragraph, however, he states that he is "rich" and a "good fellow." Chiedrago is 19 years old.

Teacher Corrections	Student Essay
	I was born in a small village of name Sandago around 10 kilometers from Ouagadougou. I have a big head covered with curly and tight hair, an oval face, a clear complexion. I have four tatoos on my cheeks, two on each side and in each of them there are small lines; others part at the nose and rejoin those on the cheek. I have a flat nose, thick red lips, a slightly large mouth, garnished with white teeth [which have] small spaces [between them]. I have a bulging
strong incorrect forms	forehead, some small eyes, projecting cheeks. I am <u>rich</u> and a good fellow.* I have a short fat chin and I do not have a beard. I am a little stooped; always I wear trousers and a
run-on sentence misspellings I am 19 years old incorrect word usages	clean or dirty shirt, I do not wear shoes. I have an old felt hat, I speak Mossi like my parents and I am aged of 19.
	I have a bad temperament. I get angry quickly against my school mates and my teacher. I am ungrateful, disordered, not attentive, not proud.
	I like very much some students of Ouagadougou and of other <u>cercles</u>.[10]

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French composition assignments asked students not only to describe themselves, but also Whites. The essay below was written by a student in the second year of the Primary Superior School at Ouagadougou in Upper Volta. The essay describes Mr. Allier, the school director. Mr. Allier appears an omnipotent giant who is 80 meters tall and has a double chin. He dresses like a white army sergeant and frightens little children. The portrait is a mixed one: Mr. Allier is benevolent, he also appears to be a racist and, as the student, Guissou states, "He is very good to us as long as we obey him."

The white man I know the best is Mr. Allier, my [school's] director. He is a man of about 50 years of age. He is big. He measures [in height] about 80 meters. He has an average [sized] head covered with grey hair. His face is a little wrinkled. His nose is straight. His ears are large and clean.

He has a large chin covered with a beard that he cuts very often. Under his chin are several folds of flesh that stop the sweat that flows [down]. He has a large chest. His shoulders are high. The limbs are equally wrinkled

*In this paragraph there are a series of misspellings left uncorrected.

but large and covered with hair. He has lost several teeth which have been replaced with others made of gold.

He dresses very often in a short-sleeved shirt and pants that go down to the bottom of his feet. He always wears a pith-helmet similar to [those worn by] white [army] sergeants. He often wears white eye glasses and sometimes sunglasses in black. He wears white cloth [canvas] shoes. Our Director has a loud voice that frightens us when he is angry. He likes hard working and obedient students alot. He rewards them by giving them pretty pencils and little mirrors or reading books. But he punishes bad students and keeps them from going out on Sunday and turns down whatever they ask for.

Mr. Allier is very interested in little children. When he has free time and is in a good mood, he questions them by asking them their name and the name of their parents. If [the child] whines and if he is a slaggard, he [the director] says: "I am going to take the slaggards and not let them go out on Sunday. Go, go. . .run and line up" and when a student lies, he repeats this phrase: "Here's the work of the Negro during the night when it is dark and no one sees him." He is very good to us as long as we obey him.[11]

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If the students exhibited some ambivalence to the White school director, they were even less flattering when it came to describing the Chief of the Province. Below is Traore Ladju's composition describing Bente Days, the Chief of his province, who, as far as Traore is concerned drinks too much alcohol and gambles. Some of the perjorative tenor of the essay may have been induced by the teacher when he made the assignment. An essay by his classmate Maurice Silare on the same topic, contains similar statements: speaking of the eyes as "red like a drunkard's." Maurice Silare, who was apparently a long-winded student, also described his province chief as "a small termite that has been pinned down."[12] The essay below is Traore Ladju's. He is a first year student at the Primary Superior School at Ouagadougou.

Teacher
Correction

Student Essay

I have often seen my province chief walk around, but it is especially on holidays that I approach him. He is of average height, has a clear skin, and is very fat. He has big eyes made red from the alcohol which he absorbs in too great a quantity. In his land, he usually wears a

to made of While he dresses, his griots beat the tam-tam and sound horns.

boubou,* pants, and a military cap.** But on holidays he dresses into large boubous, all in rich cloth velour, leather boots embroidered with silk thread. While he dresses, one can hear at the door his rifle shots and a car in which he reenters to go to the cercle.+ When there are holiday celebrations behind the village, he gets on a white horse that is richly harnassed and whose four hoofs and tail have been blued. When he returns, he offers the griot, millet, rice, and to old men who are chiefs or fetischers, money. Finally, he is sweet, likes to gamble alot and laughs with everyone. The province chief's name is Bente Days.

*The boubou is a loose shirt worn in parts of West Africa that comes down to the knees.
**Literally, chechra, the hat worn by African troops, sometimes called a tarboosh.
+Smallest French administrative unit.

III. OBJECTS, EVENTS AND PLACES

Many of the French composition topics were insipid. In the primary grades, students were usually asked to describe something that was immediately within their view. The essay below was written by Allassane Koulibaly, a student in the cours moyen, second year, of the Regional School at Bobo-Dioulasso (Upper Volta). It describes the school book, Moussa et Gi-gla, excerpts from which are translated in Part Two of this monograph.

I have a reading book which a [sic] has been given by the school at the beginning of the school year. It is more long than wide, it is then rectangular. It looks like my notebook, but it is thicker. It has two covers, the first of which is decorated; on this first cover it says the name of those who smile and who appear looking out of a round window. Lower down on the cover you can read the name of Library Armand Colin. On the second cover there is the list of some books the Library Armand Colin sells. The back is covered with red cloth. My book is made up of sheets of assembled paper called pages. It has 132 pages. This reading book tells us the story of two little Black boys, Moussa and Gi-gla who tour ao-F. Also there are narratives: the bravery of the Black sharpshooters during the Great War; how the griot, after flattering Gi-gla, stole his money purse; how the French came.[14]

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Not only were students asked to describe their school books, they were also asked to describe their teacher's pith-helmet. The essay below was written by 13-year old More Fidouemba, a student in the cours moyen, first year, at the Regional School at Kayes (Soudan). There is a certain alienation in this essay, for the student states that the pith-helmet is useful to Europeans. The teacher did correct the essay and tried to get the student to replace his last sentence with a new one that would read: "Without the pith helmet to protect them, Europeans would not be able to come to the colonies."

My teacher has a pretty pith-helmet. It is made of cork. It has two important parts. The cap and the visor, which serve to protect the head against the heat of the sun. Underneath this helmet is a space where the boutou is placed. It prevents the rays of the sun from penetrating and lets air pass through. The chin straps hold the pith helmet to the chin. On the inside there is red cloth and leather. Between the helmet and the leather the air penetrates. The ribbon holds the hair for a long time. The pith-helmet is very useful to the Europeans.[15]

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French composition assignments often asked students to describe events. The essay below describes a Bastille Day celebration in the town of Tenkadogo in Upper Volta. The essay is an interesting one, simply because school texts like Moussa et Gi-gla contained similar materials about how Bastille Day was celebrated in West Africa.[16] They, like the essay below, never explained why Bastille Day was celebrated; they simply described the celebration. The essay was written by Kodo Bassave, a fifth year student at the Primary Superior School at Ouagadougou in Upper Volta.

Teacher Correction

Student Essay

I am going to tell about what I saw, heard and did on the day of the 14th of July 1930 at Tenkadogo.

During the week that preceded the holiday of the 14th of July, everyone prepared for and awaited the holiday. I almost always keep company with Antoine and we made our preparations together. We finally were at Sunday the 13th of July, the evening of the great holiday. Teukodogo swarmed with people from all corners of the cercle. Along the streets, on the buildings, on public squares, the flags waved. We were anxious to see night come, finally after long hours, the sun reached the end of its trajectory. The shadows hastened to envelope the earth. Soon after dinner, the candle began and we followed the guards to the end of the candles. Then we went to sleep with some school mates who lived far away. At four in the morning we were up and already the rifle shots resounded from all over. We washed ourselves at the riverbank where we met a crowd of people arriving from neighboring villages.

the torchlight parade
delete phrase of the candles

At seven we went to the cercle with the native chiefs to hear what the Commandant said to them for the holiday. Then we returned to the house and spun away toward the city by bike to avoid the large mass of people and horses. Having arrived at the public square, we looked for a spot from which we could see the games. Soon Whites were there with the chiefs and the entertainment began. How much fun it was to see the children cling to the palm pole and slide almost to its base. Everyone struggled to get something. After the games, dances were organized, each group of dancers came, in its turn, to face the Whites to dance. They were given calabashes of dolo and kola nuts. The market crowd was immense but even more immense was that crowd which escorted the dancers. Each

wore a more gaudy costume. The women, adorned, dressed in multi-colored outfits walked nonchalantly along the crowd. The silk handkerchiefs shown on almost all the heads. The smoke formed a cloud over the crowd, all the young men smoked. Each wished that one would say of him: here's the richest person in all Tenkodogo. The presents were many: dolo, kola nuts, cigarettes were within the grasp of all.

Evening at the field was almost the same as in the morning. Everywhere dancers were organized and the tamborine players made a deafening din. When the races began, a cloud of dust arose before us. Soon night fell with great steps. Everyone dispersed and the dancers continued at the market place until the cock's crow. We rejoined them yet another whole day, then the dancers ended their dance and the holiday was ended.[17]

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At times French composition assignments asked students to compare French customs with indigenous ones. The essay below, by Boumain Nignay, a third year student at the Primary Superior School at Ouagadougou is one such essay. In it he compares French cemetaries with those of the Gourounsi people. It should be noted that the comparisons students were asked to draw in their essays, like those drawn in the textbooks, were between Africans and French in Africa. The texts and the compositions, rarely if ever, compared French institutions with African ones.

Assignment: You have surely visited the French cemetary in Ouagadougou. Describe it. I have never seen the native cemetary. Give me information about it. Yesterday Europeans celebrated Memorial Day. It is the pious remembrance of the dead. What do you think of this custom? Among the natives are their similar beliefs?

Teacher Corrections

Student Essay

A vast square court surrounded by four walls of enclosure dominated by a big wooden cross, that is the cemetary of Ouagadougou.

The French cemetary is planted with small trees with meager foliage, flowers and hemp. The cement tombstones are arranged

in parallel fashion. There is something humble [in the cemetary]: at one end of the cemetary is raised a cross which carries an epitath. There is also something rich there: the cross carries a crown of artificial flowers which gleems in the sun.

Inspite of the rich artificial and natural flowers which adorn the home of these white men who sleep in the breast of the earth, the shadow stretches over the oppressed heart, the depth of the eye bathed with tears and searching his memory for the traces of the departed loved ones.

Each family has in its courtyard two large and very deep

In a Gourounsi village no common cemetary exists. Each family has in its courtyard and two large and very deep tombs dug since the founding of the family. The first receives the heads of the family and in the second are buried other family members.

Yesterday, a day devoted to the memory of the deceased, Europeans celebrated their memorial holiday. The Governor made a speech in which he honored the great men dead for France.

This custom makes us know that the Europeans show their gratitude and respect for the dead.

Each Gourounsi village has a spot where people gather to honor the dead. It is a place maintained by old women. In the middle are two cylendrical pillars on top of which are placed two white stones.

The Gourounsis do not have a precise time to honor their dead. They set it after consulting with a man who appears to be in touch with the souls of the departed. The day of celebration, all the village (sic) around the pillars. The old men are grouped in the first row, the oldest hold in their hands calabashes of water and a pot of ashes. Ask him why he offers ashes to the dead, he will answer: "Because our ancestors did it."

cinders
cinders toward (not between)
Then

After offering water and cinters, each old man makes a little speech, then the old one throws the cinters and water between the two pillars while saying magic incantations. Than everyone goes home.

Conclusion is too abrupt.

I speak to you only about the public celebration, for there is no [celebration] in each family.[18]

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French colonial authorities were always ambivalent about Africans who dressed like Europeans or had big houses or cars. This ambivalence showed up in school textbooks. In Part Two of this monograph an excerpt from Imbert's Mon Ami Koffi about the gorilla and the shoes, coming as it did right after a chapter that explained that some Blacks along the Coast dressed like Whites,is one example of such ambivalence, for other materials in the texts, like the excerpt about farming cocao, suggested that if Africans followed the Frenchman's advice they could have big houses and cars. The essay below was written by Gabriel Agossou, a first-year student at the Primary Superior School in Dahomey. It describes the automobile of a Black man. Gabriel's essay makes alot of fun of Mr. Dossou's car--it rumbles, it is falling apart. At the same time, it is clear that Gabriel admires Mr. Dossou. He ends his essay stating that Mr. Dossou is "proud of his vehicle and his large smiling face shows that whenever he drives it, he is satisfied with it."

Oh! How ugly is the automobile vehicle of M. Dossou, with its big body all soiled with mud, grease and debris of all sorts. Its convertible hood, pierced, torn and discolored by the rain, falls down softly and lets you see the black and sable cushions. Its steering wheel, deprived of its protective envelope, is only a wheel abandoned to rust. Its broken wind screen is upholstered by a thick coat of dust. Its running board [which is] turned up, bent, reduced, quivers, perhaps from old age,[and] presents roughness which irritates the feet without a rug put on it. Its auto hood covered with dirty oil, its headlights [are] without glass and filled with sand; its high wheels with used American tires gives it the appearance of a fantastic animal.

But M. Dossou appears before his automobile. He turns the ignition one, two, three times, the motor remains without movement. He continues to turn it, in vain, no noise, no smoke escapes from the machine. His body dripping with sweat, his eyes injected with blood like a drunk man, M. Dossou redoubles his efforts. And, finally, a large "frrrt" is heard. The motor begins movement. It snorts, it puffs, it makes piercing and disagreeable noises. It rolls over a pipe with the hoarse noise and a puff of acrid smoke. Now the machine begins to move. The ill-adapted wheels creak, cry. The machine advances, clipping, clopping. And this formidable creaking, added to the snorting of the motor makes a deafening din. It moves, raising dust in the road and blinding the passerby. Even if it is in a shabby state, M. Dossou is proud of his vehicle and his large smiling face shows that whenever he drives it, he is satisfied with it.[19]

IV. THINGS YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE OR DO AFTER YOU FINISH SCHOOLING

The school curriculum, as was pointed out in Part TWO of this monograph, sought to shape students' aspirations even if there were often contradictions imbedded in the school's messages. The texts tried to orient students toward the villages, their humble huts, and the simple life of the farmer. French composition assignments tried to reinforce this. The essay below was written by Ouebe Kam, a second-year student in the Primary Superior School in Dahomey. He was asked to describe the kind of house he would like to live in in his village. He clearly did not describe a hut, and he was careful to write what the school wanted to hear, that he did not want to live in a house like those rich people own.

In my village, Bgokou, there is a house about which I have always said, "When I grow up, I will build a house like it."

Placed in the middle of large trees and to the east of the village, it resembles from afar a nest.

It is not one of those houses with stories covered with good tiles or with slate, surrounded by brick walls such as lodge the rich. It is a simple lodging built of clay from the country and covered with tar paper. Against these red walls stand out the whiteness of six small windows that face onto the courtyard. The door, in varnished wood, is decorated with pretty designs.[20]

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Not all students were willing to swallow the curricular messages of the texts hook, line and sinker. The essay below was written by Henri Lalleregma Gissou, a second year student at the Primary Superior School at Ouagadougou in Upper Volta. While he states that he will build his house in the village, he wants it to be like the School Director's.

If I had total freedom and the permission of the Governor to build a house, I would like it to be built in my native village of Koudougou. Because it is the country where my parents and friends were born, where I was born and raised and where my friends are.

Then I would build the house on high cleared ground. It would be rectangular. I would like it to be as big as the house of the School Director.[21]

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The schools taught virtually nothing about France. The textbooks, which are excerpted in Part TWO of this monograph, contained information solely about Africa or French men in Africa. In some ways the curriculum seemed constructed to keep such knowledge from students. The essay below, in this context, is somewhat surprising. The student, Alexandre Louis Smith, who attended the Primary Superior School in Dahomey and was in the first year class, obviously possessed a great deal of knowledge about France, enough to write in response to a French composition assignment, that if he were given an opportunity to travel, he would like to go to France to get "the most wonderful memory" of his life.

Oh, what joy it would be for me if they let me take a trip to France. I burn with desire to see it, to know this dear France the name of so many people in my books. Fifteen days passage on board a steamship suffices to get there.

On board the boat, which streaks through the sea, installed at my ease in a well ventilated, lighted, pretty cabin, I would look through the port holes at this plain liquid [which is] in movement without cease with its distinctive noise. I would eat well, I would attend the balls, I would listen to the music of an English orchestra thanks to the radio. What would be my attitude before such wonderousness! I would, it seems to me, be content to listen to the sea men, to be by their sides, to listen to them when they tell me about the beautiful calm nights and the storms to which they often are exposed.

Once arrived in France, I would like to go to Paris to admire the immense Notre Dame Cathedral, the Eiffel Tower, the Arch of Triumph, the pretty stores. I would like to visit the university faculties from which the learned scholars come, the Pasteur Institute where scholars from all nations continue the work of the great benefactor of all humanity. I would like to visit Strasbourg and see its cathedral, its enormous clock which, when sounded at noon, will let me see a cock and the twelve apostles of Jesus march past.

Nothing would be more agreeable than for me to go to Nice. This pretty city, from which in all seasons one can see hills covered with pines and flowers, and where sky and sea are blue. . .

After a long and interesting journey, I will return to Marseilles to walk along the port where I will see elegant sailboats. Then I will take another steamship and I will disembark for a while in Algiers, which I have heard alot about. Finally, I would continue on to Africa and I would like to get off [the boat] in each colony.

I would return from this trip, charmed and educated and it would be the most wonderful memory of my life.[22]

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Students' dreams for themselves, as the preceding essay implies, were not always what the schools would have wished them to be. School curricula always tried to channel students into the trades of farming and the simple life of the villages. Yet the school's messages were not always consistent, otherwise schools would not have assigned the composition topic: "When I Become a Fonctionnaire" (a government employee). I have selected as the last two French compositions included in this monograph student essays on this topic that were assigned the Third year class at the Primary Superior School at Ouagadougou (Upper Volta). The first was written by Boumain Nignay, who tried to reconcile the question--imagining life as a government employee-- with the school's curricular messages that channeled him to farming and the trades. He states that after he has served as a civil servant, he will go back to farming on a grand scale. He will also write a history of his people. The teacher put a rather large question mark in the column of Boumain's essay when he mentioned his hope to write this history. The teacher also suggested that he write that he would get married "When I will have enough savings." So strongly did the teacher feel about this, that he wrote it twice at the end of the essay. He also suggested that Boumain add a sentence or two in about how happy he would be to send his children to school, something Boumain had completely forgotten to mention.

Teacher
Correction

Student Essay

Fonctionnaire! This word awakens in me many things. It's the room where are born humble and high projects that I will reveal to you.

A day will come when the School will tell me, "Child, here, you are well armed, go fight it." This will be the day when I will be worthy of bearing the name of <u>fonctionnaire</u>. In order to prove my dignity of a fonctionnaire of high value, for I desire to become a veterinarian, I will buy myself an elegant bicycle. One year after I will take for a wife a young girl whose conduct and character I will have found to be good enough [for me]. I will choose her from among the girls who have gone through school.

I will be very happy to hear near me these words: Papa! Papa! or Maman! Maman!

My most aiming plan, I will divulge to you, is when the opportunity presents itself, to quit administration after some years of service. Do you know why? Well, it is for me to create a small agricultural establishment which will permit me to live peacefully in the middle of the fertile and hospital bush. Some dozens of manual laborers will work in my fields on diverse crops. I will have a plow, come from France, which will facilitate the work.

> Although a farmer, I will continue to improve myself since man is never too wise. Thanks to that improvement, I will perhaps get around to writing a little book which will describe to interested people precious information about the history and customs of my country. I hope that you will be very happy to read a book written by one of your students.[23]

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While Boumain Nignay may have tried to reconcile the composition assignment with the school's messages, Benon Sibiry made no such attempt. He dreams of dressing his wife in pretty camisoles and clothing made in the finest French boutiques, of dressing in European clothing, wearing a pith-helmet and finally owning a bicycle.

Thanks to the lessons [given me] by my viligant teachers, I think that some day soon I will leave school with a diploma which will permit me to get a good position in the administration. And I will be able to say from that day, without bragging too much, the very happy time that I have uneasily awaited for many long rough years of study has come. The aim of this time, so much desired, is to leave school one day, to take care of my parents, to establish a family, to be able to meet my needs and to go away one day, fortunate in having lived well, to sleep eternally in the bottom of that treacherous and glutinous earth, which, so many times, has retaken to nature its most cherished children.

.....I dream of founding a family. To do that, I must first have a healthy habitation that faces a vast courtyard that I will keep clean. My wife and her children will be the joy of my house. I will choose my wife from among the pretty girls of my native country. I will dress her in pretty camisoles which the most skilled tailor in the area will make for her. She will stroll around with beautiful multicolored cloths on her back which I will buy in French boutiques. She will wear turkish slippers all the time. Each night my little babies will play in the middle of the courtyard with the maid.

It will also be necessary. . .that I be myself concerned with dressing to attract the good will of my peers. I will dress myself in European clothes during the days. At night I will put on big floating boubous. The turkish slippers will replace my day-time shoes and a night cap or a beret will supplant the pith-helmet or hat which protects me from the intense heat of the day time. I will buy a pretty bicycle which will let me travel at my ease after my hours of work. Thanks to the bicycle I will be able to go hunting on Sundays.

Let us leave behind all these long dreams without fear that they will be realized only under certain conditions and let us occupy ourselves in awaiting the destiny that befalls us at the end of our studies.[24]

Footnotes

Note: The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes to this monograph:

AOM: Archives Nationales de France, Section d'Outre Mer

BEAOF: Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française

JOAOF: Journal Officiel de l'Afrique Occidentale Française

Notes to Part One

1. This discussion of education before 1910 is based on Denise Bouche, L'Enseignement Dans les Territoires Française de l'Afrique Occidentale de 1817 à 1920. Thèse presentée devant l'Université de Paris le 8 juin 1974 (Paris: Libraire Honore Champion, 1975), 2 vols.

2. Bouche, p. 148.

3. Ibid., p. 352.

4. Ibid., p. 437.

5. See Peggy Roark Sabatier, Educating a Colonial Elite: the William Ponty School and its Graduates. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, August 1977, for an excellent history of the school.

6. The clearest single statement is Georges Hardy, Une Conquête Morale: L'Enseignement en AOF (Paris: Armand Colin, 1917). See, also, L. Sonolet et A. Pérès, Le Livre du Maître Africain à l'Usage des Ecoles de Village, 2è éd. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1923); J. L. Monod, Instructions au Personnel Enseignant qui Débute dans les Ecoles de l'Afrique Occidentale Française. Editions du Bulletin de L'Enseignement de l'AOF (Gorée: Imprimerie du Gouvernement général, 1921).

7. See 5 oct. 1917, Circulaire au Sujet d'un Plan d'Action Scolaire (signé Van Vollenhoven), JOAOF, 13è Année, No. 670 (6 oct. 1917) pp. 531-534; Assomption (Inspecteur des Ecoles), Circulaire sur l'Application de l'Arrêté du 1er mai 1924, BEAOF, 13è Année, No. 61 (Juillet-Déc. 1925) pp. 77-79; Assomption, Conseil aux Maîtres: Circulaire au Sujet du Recrûtement," BEAOF, 12è Année, No. 55 (Janv.-Juin 1924) pp. 59-61.

8. This discussion of interwar school structure is based on the following sources: Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris, Commissariat de l'Afrique occidentale française, L'Enseignement en Afrique Occidentale Française (Paris: Libriaire Larose, 1931); Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Service de l'Enseignement, Textes Portant Réorganisation de

1'Enseignement en Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 1er mai 1924 (Goree: Editions du BEAOF, No. 57, 1924); 31 Déc. 1923, Circulaire du Gouverneur Général sur 1'Enseignement (Signé Carde), JOAOF, 20è Année, No. 1008 (26 Janv. 1924), pp. 69-71; 1 mai 1924, Circulaire sur la Réorganisation de 1'Enseignement, JOAOF, 20è Année, No. 1024 (10 Mai 1924), pp. 309-316.

9. See, for example, Circulaire sur 1' Enseignement (Dakar, 31 Déc. 1923), BEAOF, 11è Année, No. 56 (Oct.-Dec. 1923) pp. 30-36; Assomption (Inspecteur des Ecoles), Circulaire sur 1'Application de 1'Arrêté du 1er Mai 1924, BEAOF, 13è Année, No. 61 (Juillet-Déc. 1925) pp. 77-79; 1 Mai 1924. Circulaire sur la Réorganisation de 1'Enseignement, JOAOF, 20è Année, No. 1024 (10 Mai 1924) pp. 309-316.

10. See footnote 7.

11. The ages of the students were written in their notebooks. See, for example, Cahier de Devoirs, Tinnoago Equire, Ecole Régionale de Garçons de Conarky, AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 18bis; Devoirs Journalier, Nakro Valoulau, Ecole de Ouagadougou, Année Scolaire, 1930-31, AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 20; Cahier de Roulement, Ecole Régionale de Ouagadougou, Année Scolaire 1930-31, AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 20.

12. For a fuller discussion of school standards, especially in comparison with those in French Indochina, see Gail P. Kelly, "Colonialism, Indigenous Society and School Practices: French West Africa and Indochina, 1918 to 1938," in P. G. Altbach and G. P. Kelly (eds.), Education and the Colonial Experience (Rutgers, New Jersey: Transaction Press, 1984) pp. 14-31.

13. See, "L'Enseignement en AOF en 1934 et 1'Oeuvre Social (Extrait du Discours de M. le Gouverneur Général Brevie, prononcé à 1'Ouverture du Conseil de Gouvernement, le 7 Décembre 1934), L'Education Africaine, 23è Année, No. 87 (Juillet-Déc. 1934) pp. 135-144; "L'Enseignement en AOF en 1935 (Extrait du Discours de M. le Gouverneur Général Brevie Prononcé à 1'Ouverture du Conseil du Gouvernement, le 19 Décembre 1934)," L'Education Africaine, 25è Année, No. 93 (Janv.-Mars 1936) pp. 3-6.

14. Gouvernement Général de1'AOF, Annuaire Statistique de 1'AOF, 1933-38, p. 28.

15. See Sabatier, op. cit. and 1 Nov. 1918, Arrêté Fixant 1'Organisation Générale de 1'Enseignement en Afrique Occidentale Française, JOAOF, 14è Année No. 728 (16 Nov. 1918) pp. 572-575; 20 juin 1919, Décret Portant Création d'une Lycée à Saint-Louis (Sénégal) (Arrêté de Promulgation du 18 juillet 1919), JOAOF, 15è Année, No. 764 (26 Juillet 1919) pp. 469-472; 1 Avril 1921, Arrêté Reorganisant 1'Ecole William Ponty, JOAOF, 17è Année, No. 860 (30 Avril 1921) pp. 319-322; 1 mai 1924, Circulaire sur la Reorganisation de 1'Enseignement, JOAOF, 20è Année, No. 1024 (10 Mai 1924) pp. 309-316.

16. "Rapport Statistique de 1928/29 sur 1'Enseignement en AOF," BEAOF, 18è Année, No. 70 (Juillet-Déc. 1929) pp. 63-70.

17. "Rapport Statistique d'Ensemble Pour l'Année Scolaire 1934/35," L'Education Africaine, 25è Annee, No. 93 (Janv.-Mars 1935) p. 68.

18. Ibid., pp. 63-72.

19. Gouvernement Général de l'AOF, Annuaire Statistique de l'AOF, 1935, p. 26.

20. See, J. L. Monod, Premier Livret de l'Ecolier Soudanais (Paris: Delagrave, 1911); J. L. Monod, Deuxième Livret d'Ecolier Soudanais (Paris: Delagrave, 1911); J. L. Monod, Premier Livert de l'Ecolier Noir, Lecture, Ecriture, Langage Correspondant au Programme des Ecoles de Village de l'AOF (Paris: Delagrave, 1929) p. 35; J. L. Monod, Deuxième Livret de l'Ecolier Noir, Langage et Lecture (Correspondant au Programme des Ecoles de Village de l'AOF) (Paris: Delagrave, 1926) p. 7.

21. Robert Imbert, Mon Ami Koffi (Livre de Lecture à l'Usage des Ecoles Africaines. Cours Elémentaire) (Paris: Ferdinand Nathan, 1934) pp. 32-33.

22. Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidental Française, Textes portant Réorganisation de l'Enseignement en AOF (Gorée: Editions du Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'AOF, 1924) p. 39.

23. See Sonolet & Pérès, Le Livre du Maître Africain, op. cit. and J. L. Monod, Instructions au Personnel Enseignant qui débute...., op. cit.

24. See Cahier de Roulement, Ecole de Bobo-Dioulasso, Année Scolaire, 1930/31. Cours moyen, 2è Année, AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 19.

25. See Hardy, op. cit. See also, "Enquête sur l'Education dans la Société Indigène," L'Education Africaine, 24è Année, No. 89 (Janv.-Mars 1935); P. Blanluet, "Enquête sur l'Enfant Noir de l'AOF--L'Enfant Gourounsi," BEAOF, 21è Année, No. 78 (Janv.-Mars 1931) pp. 8-19; Benjamin Gbaguidé, "Enquête sur l'Education dans la Société Indigène--Généralitiés," L'Education Africaine, 26è Année, No. 96 (Janv.-Juin 1937) pp. 48-57.

Notes to Part Two

1. See Georges Hardy, Une Conquête Morale: L'Enseignement en AOF (Paris: Armand Colin, 1917).

2. L. Sonolet & A. Pérès, Le Livre du Maître Africain à l'Usage des Ecoles Africaines, 2è éd. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1923), pp. 251-252.

3. Le Chant à l'Ecole Indigène (Gorée: Editions du Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'AOF, 1916), p. 5.

4. A Davesne, Nouveau syllabaire de Mamadou et Bineta à l'usage des Ecoles Africaines (Paris: Istra, 1934), p. 7.

5. Ibid., p. 29.

6. Ibid., p. 72.

7. Ibid., p. 74.

8. Ibid., p. 75.

9. Sonolet & Pérès, op. cit., pp. 252-253.

10. J. L. Monod, Deuxième Livret de l'Ecolier Noir. Langage et Lecture (Correspondant au Programme des Ecoles de Village de l'AOF). (Paris: Delagrave, 1926), p. 7.

11. See M. Nicoli (Directeur, Ecole régionale de Sikasso), "Enquête sur l'Enfant Noir en Afrique Occidentale Française--l'Enfant Senoufo," BEAOF, 20è Année, No. 76 (Janv.-Mars 1931), pp. 7-29. See also "Conseil aux Maîtres: Circulaire au Sujet du Recrûtement," BEAOF, 12è Année, No. 55 (Janv.-Juin 1924), pp. 59-61.

12. J. L. Monod, Premier Livret de l'Ecolier Soudanais (Paris: Delagrave, 1911), p. 57.

13. J. L. Monod, Deuxième Livret de l'Ecolier Soudanais. Langage et Lecture (Paris: Delagrave, 1911), p. 82.

14. J. L. Monod, Deuxieme Livret de l'Ecolier Noir, op. cit., p. 20.

15. J. L. Monod, Premier Livret de l'Ecolier Noir. Lecture, Ecriture, Langage Correspondant au Programme des Ecoles de Village de l'AOF, (Paris: Delagrave, 1929), p. 35.

16. Robert Imbert, Mon Ami Koffi (Livre de Lecture à l'Usage des Ecoles Afraicaines. Cours Elémentaire) (Paris: Ferdinand Nathan, 1934), pp. 32-33.

17. Sonolet & Pérès, Le Livre du Maître Africain, op. cit., p. 234.

18. Imbert, Mon Ami Koffi, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

19. Ibid., pp. 61-62.

20. A.Davesne & J. Gouin, Mamadou et Bineta Sont Devenus Grands, (Paris: Istra, 1939), pp. 212-213.

21. A.Davesne, Mamadou et Bineta Lisent et Ecrivent Courament, (Paris: Istra, 1934), p. 67, music is on page 180.

22. J. L. Monod, Premier Livret de l'Ecolier Soudanais, op. cit., p. 60.

23. J. L. Monod, Deuxième Livret de l'Ecolier Noir, op. cit., p. 73.

24. Ibid., p. 73.

25. A. Davesne, Mamadou et Bineta Lisent et Ecrivent Couramment, op. cit., p. 61.

26. A. Davesne, Les Premiers Lectures de Mamadou et Bineta. Cours préparatoire, 2è Année (Paris: Istra, 1934), p. 157.

27. Le Chant à l'Ecole Indigène, op. cit., p. 2.

28. L. Sonolet & A. Pérès, Méthode de Lecture et d'Ecriture de l'Ecolier Africain (Paris: Colin, 1915), p. 80.

29. L. Sonolet & A. Pérès, Moussa et Gi-gla: Histoire de Deux Petits Noirs. Livre de Lecture Courante (Cours Complet de l'Enseignement à l'Usage des Ecoles de l'Afrique Occidentale française). (Paris: Armand Colin, 1926), p. 83.

30. A Davesne & J. Gouin, Mamadou et Bineta Sont Devenus Grands, op. cit., p. 111.

31. A. Davesne, Mamadou et Bineta Lisent et Ecrivent Couramment, op. cit., p. 139.

32. Ibid., p. 141.

33. A. Davesne, Les Premiers Lectures de Mamadou et Bineta. Cours préparatoire, 2è Année (Paris: Istra, 1934), p. 160.

34. A. Davesne & J. Gouin, Mamadou et Bineta Sont Devenus Grands, op. cit., pp. 388-389.

35. Imbert, op. cit., pp. 141-142.

36. Le Chant à l'Ecole indigène, op. cit., p. 14.

37. A. Davesne & J. Gouin, Mamadou et Bineta Sont Devenus Grands, op. cit., pp. 386-387.

38. L. Sonolet & A. Peres, Moussa et Gi-gla, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

39. A. Davesne, Mamadou et Bineta Lisent et Ecrivent Couramment, op. cit., p. 167.

40. A. Davesne & J. Gouin, Mamadou et Bineta Sont Devenus Grands, pp. 287-288.

41. Imbert, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

Notes to Part Three

1. Cahier de Roulement, Ecole régionale de Ouagadougou, Cours élémentaire, 2è Année, 1930-31, Année Scolaire. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 20.

2. See Gail P. Kelly, "Colonialism, Indigenous Society and School Practices: French West Africa and Indochina, 1918 to 1938," in P. G. Altbach and G. P. Kelly (eds.), Education and the Colonial Experience (Rutgers, New Jersey: Transaction Press, 1984) pp. 14-31.

3. Cahier de Devior Apparentant à Patida Moussa, Ecole de Kaya, Cours élémentaire, lere Année, Année Scolaire 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 19.

4. Cahier de Roulement, Ecole de Bobo-Dioulasso, Cours moyen, lere Classe , Année Scolaire 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 19.

5. Cahier de Roulement, Ecole primaire Supérieure de Garçons de Ouagadougou. Année Scolaire 1930/31. Cours de composition française . 2è Classe . AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 22.

6. Cahier de Composition française Appartenant à Maurice Silaré. Ecole Primaire Supérieure de Ouagadougou, lere Classe, Année Scolaire 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 21.

7. Cahier de Roulement, Compositions françaises. Ecole Primaire Supérieure de Ouagadougou, lere Année, Année Scolaire 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 21.

8. Composition Française, lere Année, Ecole Primaire Supérieure de Dahomey. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 18.

9. Cahier de Composition Française Appartenant à Maurice Silaré, Ecole Primaire Supérieure de Ouagadougou, lere Classe, Année Scolaire, 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 21.

10. Cahier de Roulement, Compositions françaises. Ecole Primaire Supérieure de Ouagadougou, lere Année, Année Scolaire 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 21.

11. Cahier de Roulement, Ecole Primaire Supérieure de Garçons de Ouagadougou, Cours de Composition Française, 2è Classe, Année Scolaire 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 22.

12. Cahier de Composition Française Appartenant à Maurice Silaré, Ecole Primaire Superieure de Ouagadougou, lere Classe, Année Scolaire 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 21.

13. Cahier de Roulement, Compositions Françaises, Ecole Primaire Supérieure de Ouagadougou, lere Année, Année Scolaire 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 21.

14. Cahier de Roulement. Ecole de Bobo-Dioulasso, Cours moyen, 2è Année, Année Scolaire 1930/31. 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 19.

15. Cahier de Devoir Appartenant à More Fidouemba, Cours moyen, 1ere Année, Ecole de Kaya, 1930. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 19.

16. See chapter 48 which describes Bastille Day celebrations in Bandiagara in L. Sonolet & A. Pérès, Moussa et Gi-gla: Histoire de deux Petits Noirs. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1926).

17. Cahier de Roulement, Française, Ecole Primaire Supérieure de Ouagadougou. 5è Année, Année scolaire 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 24.

18. Cahier de Composition française Appartenant à Boumain Nignay, Ecole Primaire Supérieure de Ouagadougou, 3è Classe, Année scolaire 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 23.

19. Cahier, Ecole Primaire Supérieure, Dahomey, 1ere Année, Composition française, AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 18.

20. Ecole Primaire Supérieure,Dahomey, 2è Année, Composition française, AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 18.

21. Cahier de Composition francaise. Henri Lalleregma Guissou, Ecole Primaire Supérieure de Ouagadougou, 2è Année, Année scolaire, 1930/31. AOM, 46 PA, Carton 4, Dossier 22.

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